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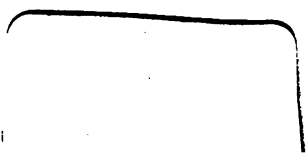
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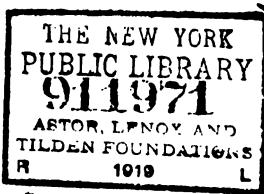
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PREFACE

IN this little volume have been collected a number of addresses prepared for various occasions, mostly within the last few years. I have had a sufficiently partial judgment to fancy that they might be worthy of the limited immortality conferred by printer's ink. They deal with a variety of topics, and bear to each other no relation of mutual dependence. There is, however, one general thought upon which all of them in one way or another have some bearing. That thought is the adjustment of Christian faith and life and institutions to the ever-changing conditions which come with the lapse of time. Underlying all of them is the conviction that the great need of the moral life of humanity in our own age and in every age is "not a new Gospel, but the Gospel anew."

Most of the addresses have been published substantially in the form in which they were delivered. A few of them have been considerably altered in adaptation to present conditions. I have chosen to preserve each

PREFACE

of the addresses in a form complete in itself, though an inevitable consequence is the occurrence of a certain amount of repetition.

Two of the addresses have already been published, the second in *The Independent*, and the eighth in *Zion's Herald*. Grateful acknowledgments are made to the publishers of these periodicals, who have permitted the republication of the articles. The other addresses now appear in print for the first time.

I desire also to acknowledge my obligation to my brother, the Rev. Charles Francis Rice, D.D., for assistance in reading proofs and for critical suggestions.

WILLIAM NORTH RICE.

I
THE POET OF SCIENCE

I

THE POET OF SCIENCE

THE subject announced for my lecture may arouse in some minds the thought that a devotee of the science which Huxley has defined as the science of mud is decidedly out of place when he attempts a literary criticism. My answer to that objection would be that I do not purpose to attempt a literary criticism. I am not going to discuss poetry from a literary standpoint. The question whether Alfred, Lord Tennyson, considered as a poet, ranks first or only second in that galaxy of poets on both sides of the Atlantic who made the Victorian era illustrious, I shall leave literary critics to consider. I shall speak of the poetry of Tennyson as viewed from the standpoint of a student of science.

I

In the first place, the claim of Tennyson to the title of "the poet of science" rests

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upon the fact that he was an observer of nature at first hand and that his descriptions are always phenomenally true. This is not by any means true of all literary men. A popular novelist, I believe, in painting an evening scene, describes the thin crescent of the new moon as rising in the east, which, it is safe to say, the new moon never did. A distinguished historian, wishing to emphasize in his description the fierce tumult of a Parisian mob in the French Revolution by contrast with the solemn calm of the heavens, says that on a certain evening, when things in Paris were especially tumultuous, Orion and the Pleiades looked down upon them. An astronomical friend tells me that at that time in the year Orion and the Pleiades did not rise until four o'clock in the morning. Not all poets are observers of nature. The ancient poets in general were not in great degree observers of nature, with the striking exception of the Hebrew poets. The Hebrew psalmists and prophet bards seem in this respect far more modern than the classical poets. They write of nature from first-hand observation and in the spirit of a genuine love of nature.

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The Hebrew poets, of course, are guiltless of any scientific interpretation of nature, but their descriptions of natural phenomena are true. The Latin and Greek poets deal with man, and very little with nature. The opening words of the *Æneid*, "*Arma virumque cano*," and the first line of the *Iliad*, "*Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω, Ἀχιλῆος*," are expressive of the spirit of classic poetry in general. My honored colleague, the professor of Latin in Wesleyan University, finds in the poetry of Tibullus and Propertius scarcely any references to nature which are not merely conventional. Of the latter poet, my friend says, "His nature was mostly learned at second hand, and requires for its interpretation not a botany, an astronomy, or a physical geography, so much as a classical dictionary."

While, in general, modern poetry is characterized by deep appreciation of the charm of nature, it is not by any means true of all modern versifiers. The writers of hymns are a very useful class of people, but they are not always blessed with very much knowledge of nature or sympathy with nature. In the immensely numerous hymns

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of Charles Wesley we practically never find any reference to natural phenomena which is not obviously taken from the Bible. In so far as phrases in his hymns refer to any aspects of nature, they do not refer to the scenery of England, but to that of Palestine or Egypt. The following is rather an exceptionally bad specimen of Charles Wesley's figurative use of supposed natural phenomena:

"Thou Rock of my salvation, haste;
Extend thine ample shade;
And let it over me be cast,
To screen my naked head.

"O set upon thyself my feet,
And make me surely stand;
From fierce temptation's rage and heat
Protect me with thy hand.

"Now let me in the cleft be placed,
Nor my defense remove;
Within thine arms of love embraced—
Thine arms of endless love."

In this chaotic jumble of mixed metaphors, the basal idea is obviously an adaptation of the phrase of Isaiah, "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." The picture which that phrase presents is significant in the

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Libyan or the Syrian desert, but in England it is absolutely meaningless.

But phenomenal truth in the description of nature is found so generally in modern poets that it would not alone justify the title which I have given to Tennyson. Yet I think it is true that he does show that characteristic in an eminent degree even as compared with most modern poets. When he tells us in "Maud,"

"My mood is changed, for it fell at a time of year
When the face of night is fair on the dewy downs,
And the shining daffodil dies, and the Charioteer
And starry Gemini hang like golden crowns
Over Orion's grave low down in the west,"

he gives us two phenomena whereby the time of the year is dated; one, the appearance of certain constellations in the evening sky; the other, the close of the season of bloom of the daffodil. The astronomical date and the botanical date correspond with each other. The time of the year was the month of April. Tennyson occasionally employs very unusual descriptive phrases, which startle the reader and suggest a doubt as to whether they can be true; and yet it will always be found that they are truly descrip-

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tive of actual aspects of nature, though it may be somewhat exceptional ones. When he speaks in "Locksley Hall" of

"Summer isles of Eden lying in dark-purple
spheres of sea,"

the color attributed to the water is not that which we usually think of in connection with the sea, and yet most people who are familiar with the sea under varying conditions will recall instances where its aspect is best described by the word "purple." The "scarlet shafts" of sunrise and of sunset in "Enoch Arden" certainly do not represent the most common colors of the sunrise or the sunset sky. Yet there are at times and in places scarlet sunrises and sunsets. The description of the sea as seen by an eagle at a lofty height is wonderfully painted in the line,

"The wrinkled sea beneath him crawls."

To those who have ever had the opportunity of looking down upon the waves of the sea from any considerable altitude, the description of the surface as wrinkled and of the sea as crawling appears singularly accurate.

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II

I pass on to another characteristic of Tennyson's poetry which marks him far more distinctively as the poet of science; and that is that he draws his material in large degree from recondite facts of science and from scientific theories. Other poets have sung the beauty of the

"Wee, modest, crimson-tippèd flow'r,"

or have felt the "harmonious madness" which ripples forth in the song of the skylark. In the verse of other poets we catch echoes of

"The rhythm of autumn's forest dyes,
The hymn of sunset's painted skies."

Other poets in general deal with those phenomena of nature which at least potentially fall within the range of every man's observation. Tennyson deals with phenomena that are only to be observed with the telescope or the microscope, and with theoretical interpretations of phenomena. He writes poetry on the nebular theory, and on the parallelism of ontogeny and phylogeny in organic evolution.

I was talking once with a friend who is an astronomer, and he told me that Tenny-

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son's poetry was remarkable for the abundance of allusions to astronomical facts and theories. I told him that I had not observed that Tennyson was an astronomer, but that I knew that he was a geologist. The fact is, each one of us had seen in Tennyson what his own studies and habits of thought enabled him to see. From Tennyson's biography we learn that the sciences of astronomy and geology kindled his imagination very early, and that all through life he was profoundly impressed by the sublimity of astronomical spaces and geological times.

I give a few illustrations of Tennyson's astronomical allusions. From one of his "Juvenile Poems":

"The rays of many a rolling central star,
Aye flashing earthwards, have not reached us
yet."

The almost inconceivable distances of the stars are measured by the ages occupied in the rapid transmission of light. From "The Palace of Art":

"Reign thou apart, a quiet king,
Still as, while Saturn whirls, his steadfast shade,
Sleeps on his luminous ring."

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As we gaze upon Saturn through a telescope, though the planet is rotating and the ring is revolving around it, the shadow of the planet upon the ring appears motionless. The theory of the tides appears in a passage from the same poem, in the significant word "moon-led."

"A still salt pool, locked in with bars of sand,
Left on the shore; that hears all night
The plunging seas draw backward from the land
Their moon-led waters white."

In the earliest edition of that poem one of the striking features of the palace in which the soul was supposed to enjoy the selfish delight of intellectual isolation was an astronomical observatory. In later editions the description of the observatory was omitted. The maturer judgment of the poet recognized that, though the description of the observatory was beautiful in itself, the poem as a whole was better without it. The general effect of the palace was better after the observatory was pulled down. In those stanzas in which we are told what was seen from the observatory, the poet fairly revels in the sublime conceptions of astronomy.

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"Hither, when all the deep unsounded skies
Shuddered with silent stars, she clomb,
And as with optic glasses her keen eyes
Pierced through the mystic dome,

"Regions of lucid matter taking forms,
Brushes of fire, hazy gleams,
Clusters and beds of worlds, and bee-like swarms
Of suns, and starry streams.

"She saw the snowy poles and moons of Mars,
That marvellous field of drifted light
In mid Orion, and the married stars."

The "regions of lucid matter taking forms" are of course nebulae, which, according to the nebular theory, were conceived to represent an earlier stage of evolution of planetary systems similar to our own. The phrase "married stars" is a singularly beautiful description of stars which are physically double, as forming one system revolving around their common center of gravity. In contrast with these, there may be stars which are optically double, in that they happen to be nearly in the same direction from our point of view. The nebular theory appears again in a striking passage in "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After."

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“Warless? war will die out late then. Will it
ever? late or soon?

Can it, till this outworn earth be dead as yon
dead world, the moon?

Dead the new astronomy calls her— . . . ,

Dead, but how her living glory lights the hall,
the dune, the grass!

Yet the moonlight is the sunlight, and the sun
himself will pass.”

According to the nebular theory in its Laplacean form, the earth is undergoing progressive refrigeration, and will sometime be like the moon, which is already cold and dead; and even the blazing sun, whose light is reflected in the moonlight, is destined ultimately to the same refrigeration and death. This was good science when Tennyson wrote it, though now the Laplacean theory itself is dead, and we are not quite as definite as formerly in our views of the origin and destiny of the solar system. From “In Memoriam”:

“Sweet Hesper-Phosphor, double name
For what is one, the first, the last,
Thou, like my present and my past,
Thy place is changed; thou art the same.”

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Vénus appears as morning star or evening star, as in its revolution it changes its position relative to the sun.

A few geological passages. From "In Memoriam":

"There rolls the deep where grew the tree.

O earth, what changes thou hast seen!

There where the long street roars, hath been
The stillness of the central sea.

"The hills are shadows, and they flow

From form to form, and nothing stands;

They melt like mist, the solid lands,

Like clouds they shape themselves and go."

In this stanza we have exactly the conception of the history of geographical change which characterized the geology of Sir Charles Lyell, and that was the best geology there was in the days when "In Memoriam" was written. It was not until later that our American geologist Dana announced the doctrine of the substantial permanence of continent and ocean, and it was very much later that that doctrine came into general acceptance. Most of us now believe that great areas of our continents have from time to time been covered by the waters of

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the sea, but, at least for the most part, by shallow seas, not by oceanic depths. Another stanza of the same poem:

“The moanings of the homeless sea,
The sound of streams that swift or slow
Draw down æonian hills, and sow
The dust of continents to be.”

Here we have the representation of the gradual degradation of the continents by the agencies of subaerial denudation. From the same poem, again:

“The solid earth whereon we tread

In tracts of fluent heat began,
And grew to seeming-random forms,
The seeming prey of cyclic storms,
Till at the last arose the man.”

Here we have, of course, the primitively molten or gaseous earth which was the necessary geological corollary of the nebular theory of Laplace. That was good geology as long as Tennyson lived; but in these later years in which we have lost faith in the Laplacean form of the nebular theory, we have grown pretty skeptical about any molten stage in the history of the earth. From “The Two Voices”:

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" . . . When first the world began,
Young nature through five cycles ran,
And in the sixth she molded man."

In these lines, I suppose, the poet must refer to the interpretation of the Mosaic days of creation as symbols of indefinite periods of time—a conception which served as a very convenient half-way station, between the belief in the literal truth of the narratives of creation in Genesis, and our present belief that the Mosaic days have no scientific meaning whatever. How impressively the truth of the appearance and extinction of successive faunas in geological times, and the awful question which those facts inevitably suggest to the thoughtful mind, are presented in those lines from "In Memoriam":

"So careful of the type?" but no.
From scarped cliff and quarried stone
She cries, 'A thousand types are gone:
I care for nothing, all shall go.

"Thou makest thine appeal to me:
I bring to life, I bring to death:
The spirit does but mean the breath:
I know no more.'"

While I think it is probably true that

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Tennyson's poetry is richer in astronomical and geological material than in matter belonging to the other sciences, it is certainly true that in considerable degree his writings abound in references to facts and theories of various other departments of science. How beautiful is his description of the metamorphosis of the dragon-fly in "The Two Voices"!

"To-day I saw the dragon-fly
Come from the wells where he did lie.

"An inner impulse rent the veil
Of his old husk: from head to tail
Came out clear plates of sapphire mail.

"He dried his wings: like gauze they grew;
Through crofts and pastures wet with dew
A living flash of light he flew."

With what startling truth the parallelism between the embryological development of the individual and the succession of related types is presented in those lines of "In Memoriam"—

"A soul shall draw from out the vast
And strike his being into bounds,

"And, moved thro' life of lower phase,
Result in man, be born and think."

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How impressively the insoluble mystery of life, alike in its highest and in its lowest forms, is brought before us in that beautiful fragment!—

“Flower in the crannied wall,
I pluck you out of the crannies,
I hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
Little flower—but if I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
I should know what God and man is.”

Of course a man with so comprehensive and profound a knowledge and appreciation of astronomical, geological, and biological science was an early convert to evolution. In fact, he hardly needed any conversion. We learn that in a college debating society he maintained that the “development of the human body might possibly be traced from the radiated, vermicular, molluscou, and vertebrate organisms.” It is needless to say that the idea of one continuous line of evolution from the lowest to the highest form of life is very different from the conception of evolution as held to-day. The progress of evolution has been along many radiating lines. Sea-urchins and cuttle-

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fishes are certainly not in the line of human pedigree. But no less interesting is the fact that Tennyson in his college days was already speculating on evolutionary theories. It was in pre-Darwinian days that he wrote in "In Memoriam,"

" . . . Arise and fly
The reeling Faun, the sensual feast ;
Move upward, working out the beast,
And let the ape and tiger die."

I do not pretend to know how definite an evolutionary conception he intended to express in those words. Whether we are evolutionists or not, we must recognize that there are moods of human feeling and passion that are ape-like and others that are tiger-like; but, in view of what we know of his early disposition to evolutionary speculation, it seems to me probable that in this passage of "In Memoriam" he did have a more or less distinct reference to the idea of man being descended from lower forms of mammalia. Of course, if that was his conception, it was a crude one; for, though the evolutionist of to-day traces the origin of man to ape-like forms, it is perfectly certain

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that the tiger could never have been in the line of human ancestry. The carnivora are highly specialized in a totally different direction from that line of evolution which resulted in man.

Whatever Tennyson's evolutionary conceptions may have been in pre-Darwinian days, it is very certain that he gave early acceptance to the views of Darwin, and that he clearly recognized the role of evolution, even in the ethical development of humanity. In his poem entitled, "By an Evolutionist," we find a noble expression of ethical evolution in the individual.

"If my body come from brutes, though somewhat
finer than their own,

I am heir, and this my kingdom. Shall the
royal voice be mute?

No, but if the rebel subject seek to drag me from
the throne,

Hold the scepter, Human Soul, and rule thy
province of the brute.

"I have climbed to the snows of Age, and I gaze
at a field in the Past,

Where I sank with the body at times in the
sloughs of a low desire,

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But I hear no yelp of the beast, and the Man is
quiet at last,
As he stands on the heights of his life with
a glimpse of a height that is higher."

In "The Making of Man," we have the
ethical evolution of the race.

"Where is one that, born of woman, altogether
can escape
From the lower world within him, moods of tiger,
or of ape?
Man as yet is being made, and ere the crown-
ing Age of ages,
Shall not æon after æon pass and touch him into
shape?

"All about him shadow still, but, while the races
flower and fade,
Prophet-eyes may catch a glory slowly gaining
on the shade,
Till the peoples all are one, and all their voices
blend in choric
Hallelujah to the Maker, 'It is finished. Man
is made.' "

Very curious is the persistence of the tiger
in the supposed roll of human ancestry; but
the general conception of ethical evolution
is nobly expressed.

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III

I call Tennyson the poet of science, thirdly, on account of a certain characteristic of his view of nature which I do not know exactly how to name. I am tempted to call it the materialism of his view of nature. I am tempted again to call it the prosaic truthfulness of his view of nature. I can, perhaps, best illustrate what I mean by contrast. Tennyson has been censured by some of the æsthetic critics for not finding that imaginary personality in nature in general or in particular objects of nature which other poets have thought they found. Stopford Brooke finds fault with Tennyson for not seeing nature alive as Wordsworth did. I confess I do not exactly understand what the critic means; and, as I do not understand him, I quote his words instead of attempting to express his idea in any words of my own.

Wordsworth "believed within his poetic self that Nature was alive in every vein of her; thought, loved, felt, and enjoyed in her own way, not in a way the same as we, but in a similar way, so similar that we could communicate with her and she with us, as one spirit can communicate

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with another. Then, what is true of the whole of nature is true of the parts. Every flower, cloud, bird, and beast, every mountain, wood, every tree, every stream, the great sky and the mighty being of the ocean, shared in the life of the whole, and made it, in themselves, a particular life. Each of them enjoyed, felt, loved, thought in its own fashion."

Now we unesthetic scientists like Tennyson for precisely that characteristic which Stopford Brooke alleges as a fault. We geologists think that a mountain range is usually the result of the crushing of a geosyncline by tangential pressure, and that a mountain peak is generally a remnant left in the erosion which has removed an immense mass of rock around it. Consequently, we do not believe that the mountain has a spirit with which we can enter into conversation. In fact, we prefer the oreads and dryads and naiads and nereids, and all the other "ads" and "ids" of classical mythology, which are at least time-hallowed, to the new mythology of æsthetic critics.

There is, of course, a noble sense in which there is a spirit in all nature. All nature is instinct with immanent Deity, and no writer

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has ever expressed that thought more nobly than Tennyson in "The Higher Pantheism"; but that, I take it, is not what the critics mean.

While Tennyson does not give us any revelation of imagined communion with the indwelling spirits of natural objects, he does sometimes show a marvelous power in the symbolic use of natural phenomena in the representation of human feeling. Some analogy or some contrast between the aspects of nature and the moods of the human soul vivifies the expression of human feeling. Thus is represented in "Maud" the voluptuous ecstasy of love's self-surrender:

"For a breeze of morning moves,
And the planet of love is on high,
Beginning to faint in the light that she loves,
On a bed of daffodil sky,
To faint in the light of the sun she loves,
To faint in his light, and to die."

Or, for a very different mood, take the overwhelming pathos of that fragment,

"Break, break, break,
On thy cold gray stones, O Sea!
And I would that my tongue could utter
The thoughts that arise in me.

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"O, well for the fisherman's boy,
That he shouts with his sister at play!
O, well for the sailor lad,
That he sings in his boat on the bay!

"And the stately ships go on
To their haven under the hill;
But O for the touch of a vanished hand,
And the sound of a voice that is still!

"Break, break, break,
At the foot of thy crags, O Sea!
But the tender grace of a day that is dead
Will never come back to me."

IV

Lastly, and preeminently, I call Tennyson the poet of science because he, more than any other, has given literary expression to the philosophy and the religious life of a scientific age. He is the prophet bard of the age to which his manhood belonged.

The second half of the nineteenth century was eminently a scientific age. It was marked by extraordinary progress in the applications of science for the material welfare of mankind. But of far greater significance were the purely intellectual achievements of the age. The distinctive

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work of that age in the intellectual history of mankind was to bring to full realization, in the doctrine of the conservation of energy and in the doctrine of evolution, that conception of the unity of nature which had dawned a century and a half before in Newton's discovery of gravitation.

That age of scientific achievement was an age of religious skepticism. In one sense, the spirit of science is essentially and always skeptical. Science accepts no belief on authority. Science recognizes the fallibility of all mental processes and the uncertainty of all conclusions. The scientific man can never feel sure that the last word has been said on any subject. New facts may be discovered, or old facts may be placed in new relations, so as to unsettle beliefs which had seemed well established.

The popular religious beliefs of the middle of the nineteenth century were ill-adapted to resist the disintegrating tendencies of scientific thought. The popular religious faith was founded on the supposed inerrancy of the Bible, notwithstanding the obvious contradictions contained within the Bible, and the contradictions between the

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Bible and beliefs rendered probable by the study of science and history. The church had lost sight of the great truth that the foundation of its faith is not an inerrant book, but a unique Personality. The prevailing form of theistic belief had lost sight of the great truth of the divine immanence in the ordinary processes of nature, and looked for God only in the supposed gaps in the continuity of nature. To the popular faith God was lost, if science could fill those gaps.

The unification of physical and vital forces, as formulated in the doctrine of conservation of energy, involves inevitably a tendency to ignore all phenomena which cannot be completely formulated in terms of physics and chemistry. The doctrine of evolution emphasizes the kinship between man and the lower animals; and, in dwelling upon that phase of truth, men were led to ignore or to seek to explain away all experiences which were peculiar to man.

It is no wonder that the tremendously startling revelations of science which marked the middle of the nineteenth century were connected with a widespread skepticism in

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religion. Yet that skepticism was very different from the flippant infidelity of the eighteenth century. The skepticism of the nineteenth century was not an amusement, but an agony. That age of doubt was an age of intense moral earnestness; and to that intensely ethical spirit the loss of the hallowed faith which had been associated with the loftiest development of human character was an experience of intense mental anguish. There is a wondrous pathos in the utterances of some of the scientific men who in that period of storm and stress lost their faith. So William Kingdon Clifford speaks of parting from the faith of his childhood "with such searching trouble as only cradle faiths can cause. We have seen," he continues, "the spring sun shine out of an empty heaven to light up a soulless earth; we have felt with utter loneliness that the Great Companion is dead." In the same spirit George John Romanes expresses himself. "The universe to me has lost its soul of loveliness. . . . When at times I think, as think at times I must, of the appalling contrast between the hallowed glory of that creed which once was mine and the lonely

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mystery of existence as now I find it, at such times I shall ever feel it impossible to avoid the sharpest pang of which my nature is susceptible."

In that moral earnestness was the promise of returning faith. There was light at evening time for some whose lives had been shrouded for a time in darkness; there was light at evening time for the general life of humanity; the dawn of the twentieth century was bright with a new faith and hope.

Of all this experience of intellectual doubt, of moral earnestness, of faith at last triumphant, Tennyson's poetry is the supreme literary expression. In 1830 he published a poem with the strange title, "Supposed Confessions of a Second-rate Sensitive Mind." After its first publication, the poem was suppressed for more than a half-century, but has been included in the later complete editions of Tennyson's works. It was not such poetry as he wrote after he had learned his art; but it is interesting as showing how early there fell over the faith of his childhood the shadow of doubt. A few lines of that poem reveal at once the experience of doubt and the longing for faith:

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"Would that my gloomed fancy were
As thine, my mother, when with brows
Propt on thy knees, my hands upheld
In thine, I listened to thy vows,
For me outpoured in holiest prayer—
For me unworthy!—and beheld
Thy mild deep eyes upraised, that knew
The beauty and repose of faith,
And the clear spirit shining through."

His poetry as a whole breathes that intense moral earnestness which led him to a triumphant faith. The story of his own life is told in the words which he wrote of his beloved Hallam:

"... One indeed I knew,
In many a subtle question versed,
Who touched a jarring lyre at first,
But ever strove to make it true:

"Perplexed in faith, but pure in deeds,
At last he beat his music out.
There lives more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds."

But Tennyson's contribution to Christian thought lies not alone in the fact of his personal experience of doubt and of faith triumphant over doubt. We cannot claim to have reached any complete solution of

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the problems presented to faith by modern scientific theories. The development of a complete and consistent philosophy at once evolutionary and theistic must wait for a wiser generation than ours. We see in a mirror enigmatically;¹ we know in part. But, though we have reached no complete solution, we have reached certain provisional adjustments which establish for us a *modus vivendi* while the surveys for the delimitation of the territories of science and religion are in progress. It is noteworthy that all these partial and tentative solutions of the problems of the age find poetic expression in Tennyson.

We have learned not to expect or demand demonstrations of religious faith, but to be content with reasonable probabilities. We have learned to base our life upon the great hope which can never be proved or disproved. And so Tennyson tells us:

“That we may lift from out of dust
A voice as unto him that hears,
A cry above the conquered years
To one that with us works, and trust,

¹ Βλέπομεν γὰρ ὅσκι δι' ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι.—I Cor. 13. 12.

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"With faith that comes of self-control,
The truths that never can be proved
Until we close with all we loved
And all we flow from, soul in soul."

We have learned that the evidence of theistic belief is to be found in man rather than in inanimate nature or in the lower orders of animate nature. The belief in Divine Personality is easy for one who truly believes in the personality of man. The God who is veiled in nature is revealed in man. In those profoundly interesting fragments of intellectual and religious autobiography which Romanes has left to us in his "Thoughts on Religion," he tells us that he lost his faith in God in the exclusive study of the lower orders of creation, and found God through the study of what is peculiar and distinctive in the spiritual life of man. This thought we find in "In Memoriam":

"I found Him not in world or sun,
Or eagle's wing, or insect's eye,
Nor through the questions men may try,
The petty cobwebs we have spun.

"If e'er when faith had fallen asleep,
I heard a voice, 'Believe no more,'

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And heard an ever-breaking shore
That tumbled in the Godless deep,

“A warmth within the breast would melt
The freezing reason’s colder part,
And like a man in wrath the heart
Stood up and answered, ‘I have felt.’

“No, like a child in doubt and fear:
But that blind clamor made me wise;
Then was I as a child that cries;
But, crying, knows his father near.”

We have learned to find the reconciliation
of the scientific conception of law and the
religious conception of personal will in the
doctrine of the divine immanence. Never
has that truth been more nobly expressed
than in Tennyson’s “The Higher Panthe-
ism.”

“The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills,
and the plains—
Are not these, O Soul, the Vision of Him who
reigns?

“Is not the Vision He, though He be not that
which He seems?
Dreams are true while they last, and do we not
live in dreams?

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"Glory about thee, without thee; and thou fullest thy doom,
Making Him broken gleams, and a stifled splendor and gloom.

"Speak to Him thou, for He hears, and Spirit with Spirit can meet—
Closer is He than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet.

"God is law, say the wise; O Soul, and let us rejoice,
For if He thunder by law, the thunder is yet His voice."

We have learned that the Divine Personality finds its supreme revelation in Christ. Jesus Christ himself thus becomes to us the supreme evidence of Christianity. We do not, like the great apologists of the eighteenth century, attempt to derive Christianity as a corollary from the doctrine of theism. We have learned that the evidence of Christianity is stronger than that of simple theism. And in this view Tennyson wrote:

"Though truths in manhood darkly join,
Deep-seated in our mystic frame,
We yield all blessing to the name
Of Him who made them current coin;

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"For Wisdom dealt with mortal powers,
Where truth in closest words shall fail,
Where truth embodied in a tale
Shall enter in at lowly doors.

"And so the Word had breath, and wrought
With human hands the creed of creeds
In loveliness of perfect deeds,
More strong than all poetic thought;

"Which he may read that binds the sheaf,
Or builds the house, or digs the grave,
And those wild eyes that watch the wave
In roarings round the coral reef."

In the majestic proem of "In Memoriam" is summed up the intellectual and religious life of that half-century of which we have been speaking. There we find the agony of doubt, the invincible moral earnestness, the light at evening time.

"Strong Son of God, immortal Love,
Whom we, that have not seen thy face,
By faith, and faith alone, embrace,
Believing where we cannot prove;

.
"Thou wilt not leave us in the dust:
Thou madest man, he knows not why,
He thinks he was not made to die;
And thou hast made him: thou art just.

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"Thou seemest human and divine,
The highest, holiest manhood, thou.
Our wills are ours, we know not how;
Our wills are ours, to make them thine.

"Our little systems have their day;
They have their day and cease to be;
They are but broken lights of thee,
And thou, O Lord, art more than they.

"We have but faith: we cannot know,
For knowledge is of things we see;
And yet we trust it comes from thee,
A beam in darkness: let it grow.

"Let knowledge grow from more to more,
But more of reverence in us dwell;
That mind and soul, according well,
May make one music as before,

"But vaster. We are fools and slight;
We mock thee when we do not fear;
But help thy foolish ones to bear;
Help thy vain worlds to bear thy light."

No wonder that the poet who could chant that mighty psalm of doubt and faith at the beginning of the age of scientific skepticism, should at the close of that age breathe his serene trust in that sweetest of swan songs:

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"Sunset and evening star,
And one clear call for me!
And may there be no moaning of the bar,
When I put out to sea,

"But such a tide as moving seems asleep,
Too full for sound and foam,
When that which drew from out the boundless
deep
Turns again home.

"Twilight and evening bell,
And after that the dark!
And may there be no sadness of farewell,
When I embark;

"For tho' from out our bourne of Time and Place
The flood may bear me far,
I hope to see my Pilot face to face
When I have crost the bar."

II

THE SKEPTICAL AND THE DOG- MATIC TENDENCY IN RELI- GIOUS THOUGHT

II

THE SKEPTICAL AND THE DOG- MATIC TENDENCY IN RELI- GIOUS THOUGHT

“Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.”—*1 Thessalonians 5. 21.*

“It was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints.”
—*Jude 3.*

I HAVE taken these two verses, without regard to their connection, simply as mottoes, suggesting to us two different phases of religious thought.

Every thoughtful man must recognize that our religious beliefs (like all other beliefs outside of the extremely narrow range of truths which are known by intuition or by demonstration) are supported by merely probable evidence; and that the weight of that evidence is capable of being differently estimated by different persons, or by the same person at different times. There is no

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demonstration of the existence of God; no demonstration of the historic facts relating to the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, which are the basis of Christianity; no demonstration of any particular doctrine of religion. Moreover, every thoughtful man must admit that, in subjects so vast as to transcend human thought, all detailed and precise statements of belief must be only approximations to the truth. No perfect definition or formulation of truths relating to God and other themes transcending the reach of the human intellect can be given. As knowledge enlarges and habits of thought change from age to age, the formulas which best expressed the faith of one age must necessarily fail of expressing the faith of another age. Our beliefs are probable, not demonstrable; approximations to the truth, not exact statements of the truth: and with the progress of thought they may be greatly changed.

On the other hand, men who act at all in the ordinary affairs of life, are accustomed to act upon beliefs which are only probable, and upon formulas which are only approximations to the truth. When we build a

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bridge we can never be sure that it will bear the strain that is to be imposed upon it. When a ship starts on a voyage we can never be sure that it will weather the storms of the ocean. We can never be sure that a medicine will exert a beneficial effect in any particular sickness. We can never be sure that any political measure will improve the condition of the community. And yet men engage, and rightly engage, with earnestness and confidence in the varied businesses of life, guiding their actions by beliefs which are only probable. It is wise, therefore, to act, in religious matters, upon the same principles on which we act in other matters. It is reasonable and wise to assume beliefs to be true which are only probable approximations to the truth, and to act upon them with earnestness and vigor proportionate to the importance of the subject.

Thus, in the nature of the case, we have a warrant for each of two complementary phases of religious thought; on one hand, for the admission that there is an element of uncertainty in all our beliefs, and that all our beliefs can be only approximations to the truth; on the other hand, for the as-

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sumption that the nearest attainable approximations to the truth may and should be acted upon as truth, and made the basis of an earnest Christian life. We may call these two phases or tendencies of Christian thought, respectively, the skeptical and the dogmatic phase or tendency. I am aware that both of these terms may seem objectionable, since the word "skeptical" is usually understood as implying a culpably excessive tendency to doubt, while the word "dogmatic" is often understood as implying an unreasonable positiveness in belief; but I use these terms because I do not know of any other words which will express so well the antithesis which I have in mind.

There is, as we have seen, a warrant for both these phases of thought in the nature of the case, and both gain an additional warrant from the history of religious thought in the past. If we look at the history of religious opinions, we shall see that there has been, in the past, a continual change, which leads us to believe that there will be changes in the future. The Christian belief of the twentieth century is not the same as that of the fifteenth or the fifth or the first cen-

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ture. It is not likely that the religious belief of the twenty-fifth or of the thirtieth century will be the same as that of the twentieth. The biblical astronomy of three hundred years ago, and the biblical geology of one hundred years ago, are well-nigh forgotten; and the majority of thoughtful men have outgrown those views of the nature and scope of inspiration which rendered a biblical astronomy and geology necessary. The angelology and demonology which were considered formerly an essential part of religious belief have mostly passed from the sphere of dogma into that of rhetoric. There has been a change in the mode of conception and formulation even of the central doctrines of Christianity. The controversies of the first centuries of the church have so completely passed by that an intelligent Christian of our own day requires an explanation of the terms which were once the watchwords and shibboleths of sects and parties. The barbarous subtleties of the Athanasian Creed are not so much incredible as unintelligible. Few Lutherans or Calvinists or Wesleyans profess to believe, and probably none do believe, exactly what Luther or Cal-

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vin or Wesley believed. The very forms of language, in creed and liturgy, in hymn and homily, which, in one age, form the fittest garb for the most vital thought and feeling, become, in a succeeding age, fit only for mummy cloths to enwrap the dead.

But, notwithstanding this continual change, there has been a unity of belief in all ages of the Christian Church. There has been a "faith once delivered to the saints," which has been ever the same. The great conception of God as our Father has been the same in all ages of the Christian Church. The faith of the church in Christ as the Revealer of God and the Saviour of men has never been shaken. The solemn truth of sin, and the promise of deliverance from sin through faith in Christ, have been held fast by the church in every age. The belief in retribution, and in a future life in which a man's condition will be in large degree dependent upon his character in this life, has been the faith of the church universal. The great changes which have taken place in Christian thought and Christian life illustrate, rather than disprove, this essential unity. The preparation for each new stage

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of development of the Christian Church has always existed in the stages before it. It was the reading of the Epistles of Paul which flashed the light into Luther's soul at the beginning of the great German Reformation. And it was in the reading of those same epistles, enriched by Luther's commentary upon them, that Wesley's heart was "strangely warmed" at the beginning of the Methodist Revival. Even the advent of Christ himself was only a stage in a continuous development. He came, as he tells us himself, not to destroy, but to fulfill. Every truth which blossomed in the teaching of our Lord Jesus, and which has fruited in the blessings of a Christian civilization, existed in germ in the Law and the Prophets. The whole argument of the Pauline Epistles and of the Epistle to the Hebrews, against the superstitious and unprogressive literalism of Jews and Judaizers, is a commentary on the Master's words: "I came, not to destroy, but to fulfill." When, therefore, we contend for "the faith once delivered to the saints," we are contending not only for the faith of the Christian ages, but for that which has been

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the faith of pious souls in every age. There is something wonderfully impressive in this unity of religious thought running all through the ages. The God who walked with Enoch is the same God that reveals himself to the eye of penitence and faith to-day. The princes of European intellect have worshiped the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The civilization of the twentieth century stands, with bowed head and unsandaled feet, before the burning bush of Horeb.

“Like a mighty army
Moves the Church of God;
Brothers, we are treading
Where the saints have trod;
We are not divided,
All one body we,
One in hope and doctrine,
One in charity.”

There is, then, a warrant, both *a priori* and *a posteriori*, both in the nature of the case and in the facts of history, for each of the phases of thought which we are considering: on the one hand, for the admission that all religious beliefs are only more or

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less probable approximations to the truth, and may require modification in the light of the future; on the other hand, for the assumption that approximations to the truth are attainable, which are so near to absolute truth that we are justified in treating them as true and making them the basis of vigorous lives of Christian duty.

Each of these two phases of religious thought has its value in the development of the religious character of the individual and of the church at large.

It would seem that it ought to be unnecessary to assert the value of the dogmatic element in individual character; yet it is necessary to assert it because the fashion now is to deny it. It is the fashion to represent that dogma is obsolescent and ought to be obsolete; that the highest intellectual achievement is to believe nothing; that to believe anything earnestly and vigorously is a sign of intellectual weakness. In opposition to all such teaching we need to recognize the value of the dogmatic phase of religious thought. The very foundation of religion is to believe something, and that so earnestly as to be willing to fight for it,

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suffer for it, die for it. A life of consecration is utterly meaningless unless there is something to which life can be consecrated. Something must be believed in order that there may be any principle to underlie human life. I do not propose to define exactly what that minimum of truth is which will suffice for the development of a religious life. Some minds may find a basis for a life that is truly religious in a creed as short and indefinite as Matthew Arnold's formula of "The not ourselves which makes for righteousness." But whatever moral power there may be in such a faith lies in what it affirms, not in what it denies or ignores. Only as we believe something with tremendous earnestness are we able to act with moral strength and nobleness. The men whose names are traced on the roll of honor of church history; the men "who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens"; the men who "were stoned," "were sawn asunder,"

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“were slain with the sword,” who “wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins,” who “wandered in deserts and in mountains and in dens and caves of the earth”; “of whom the world was not worthy”—these were the heroes, not of skepticism, but of faith.

But, however valuable, indispensable, fundamental, may be the dogmatic tendency, we must recognize the fact that, perverted, it may lead to pernicious results in the development of the life of the individual.

If a man comes to believe that his own conceptions, instead of being more or less probable approximations to truth, are absolute truth, he will come to regard those who differ with him in any particular as enemies of the truth. This is the origin of bigotry, the motive of persecution; and, though the forms of persecution change, the spirit of persecution is not altogether extinct in the church to-day. The dogmatic tendency needs to be restrained and tempered by a full and frank recognition that we are not the custodians of absolute truth; that our best conceptions of truth are only approximations, and that wiser ages may make closer approximations to truth than we have

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been able to make; that those who differ from us may even now be wiser than we, and their conceptions nearer approximations to absolute truth than ours. The spirit of skepticism, therefore, is necessary to temper the spirit of dogmatism.

But, if the skeptical tendency of thought, within limits, is so beneficial, so necessary to the best development of Christian character, it becomes utterly ruinous when it runs to an extreme. I know of no character not debased by dishonesty nor corrupted by sensual vice more unworthy of our respect than that of him who is given over to universal skepticism, who sees so plainly the errors of all creeds that he can have no creed, who believes nothing, and consequently has no aim, and spends his life in idleness and uselessness and helplessness. Such a character is truly and powerfully depicted, under the name of Edward Langham, in Mrs. Ward's profoundly thoughtful novel, "Robert Elsmere." Heartily would I join in the petition of the litany, "From all false doctrine, heresy, and schism, good Lord deliver us!" But with yet more earnestness would I pray, "From liberalism

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and indifferentism and universal skepticism, good Lord deliver us!" Better error than indifference to truth. Better the terrible error of Saul, the persecutor, than the indifference to truth which expressed itself in the scornful or despairing question of Pilate, "What is truth?" For honest error, however dark and terrible that error may be, there is a cure; but for indifference to truth there is no cure. The man who has given up the search for truth has doomed himself to intellectual stagnation and moral death.

We see, then, that the skeptical and the dogmatic tendency are alike necessary for the right development of individual Christian character, and that they are required to exist in just coordination with each other. In proper limit and measure each has its office. The exaggeration of either may work ruinous consequences.

Nor is it alone in the life of the individual that we may trace the influence of these two phases of religious thought. For good and for evil they have wrought in the history of the church at large.

It is the dogmatic tendency in Christian thought which has enabled individual Chris-

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tians to unite in ecclesiastical organizations and thus gain the power of vigorous collective action. Thus it has rendered possible the great evangelistic, missionary, and philanthropic enterprises which are transforming the life of humanity. And, while the dogmatic tendency has been the power which has given the church victory over its foes, the skeptical tendency has ever operated to keep the church in harmony with the best forms of intellectual life. It has reconciled again and again the incipient conflicts between traditional views of Christianity and the advancing thought of the times. It has made Christianity flexible and progressive, and enabled it to adapt itself to all that was best in a growing civilization. Most notably in the last few decades, the skeptical tendency has been influential in producing that mutual toleration which has rendered possible the cooperation and federation of various denominations which retain their characteristic beliefs and usages and their administrative autonomy. So long as any church feels sure that its creed and polity and ritual constitute the one perfect manifestation of the truth of God on earth,

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for that church intolerance is a duty. When each church recognizes that all creeds are only approximations to the truth, mutual toleration becomes easy and natural.

If we can so plainly see, in the history of the church, the benefits of these two tendencies in religious thought, we can see no less plainly the evil effects of their perversion. For an example of the evils of unchecked skepticism, behold the Catholic Church in Italy, in the period immediately preceding the Reformation—the period when the heads of thinking men had been turned by the sudden revival of classic letters; when half-pagan priests, more familiar with the mythology of Virgil and the elegant Epicureanism of Horace than with the theology of Paul and the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount, perfunctorily performed the ceremonies of a worship which for them had become only a mummary and a farce. Behold the church given over to the utter rottenness of hypocrisy. And, for an example of the evils of excessive dogmatism, behold the Counter-Reformation which followed so soon in the churches of southern Europe; that terrible Counter-Reformation, at whose

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crimes against humanity the world still shudders, which established the Society of Jesus, fulminated the anathemas of the Council of Trent, decimated the population of southern Europe with the terrors of the Inquisition, and sought to stifle the human intellect beneath the Index Prohibitorius and the Index Expurgatorius.

For the individual, then, and for the church, the true ideal is the just coordination of these two complementary tendencies of religious thought. "What I most crave to see," said Thomas Arnold, "and what still seems to me no impossible dream, is inquiry and belief going together." That dream of Arnold is to-day more nearly fulfilled than he dared to hope. Far and wide in the churches we behold the manifestation of a spirit hospitable to new truth, ready to change the form of its opinions and adapt itself to the broadening thought of the age, and yet, at the same time, earnestly and reverently loyal to the best conceptions of truth which we have received from the past—a spirit ready to "prove all things" and to adopt new views which are commended by sound reason, while yet we "contend ear-

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nestly for the faith once delivered to the saints," which, in essential unity, has come down to us. In the manifold cooperative movements and federations of the churches, especially in the mission fields, in the harmonious work of army and navy chaplains of all names and creeds, in the Inter-Church World Movement which seems destined to unite all Protestant Christians of this country in a world-wide missionary campaign of unexampled efficiency, we behold the evidence that the church is approaching more nearly than ever before a just coordination of the two complementary tendencies in religious thought.

These thoughts, it seems to me, have a special value to those in the formative stage of religious opinions. In a certain sense, indeed, we ought never to outgrow the formative stage of religious opinions. A great thinker once said to me, "When a man has grown too old to change his opinions, he is ready to die; or, at least, he is not fit to live." Let us hope and pray that we may never reach that condition of mental petrification in which our beliefs will be incapable of change. But, while we should

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always remain accessible to new views of truth, there is an appropriate sense in which we may speak of early manhood as the period of the formation of opinions. There comes, sooner or later, to almost every thoughtful young man, a time when he begins to suspect that the traditional creed he has received in childhood is not altogether adapted to the thought of his manhood. He comes to doubt more or fewer of the assertions and implications of that creed; or, if he does not doubt the creed itself, he begins to doubt at least the soundness of some of the arguments by which it has been supported, and to suspect that, if he continues to believe the creed, it must be on other evidence and in relation with other philosophical principles than those with which it has been traditionally associated. What is the young man to do?

There are three courses he may take.

The spirit of dogmatism says: "What you have received is the truth; it is 'the faith once delivered to the saints.' To doubt or disbelieve any part of that faith is to be disloyal to God. It is your duty to trample upon those doubts, and crush them by force

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of will, if you do not see how to refute them by argument." Alas! too many young men have yielded to this appeal, and attempted to crush down doubt by force of will. The attempt may succeed, or it may fail; I know not in which case the result is the more pernicious. If the attempt succeeds, it makes the man a bigot and a persecutor; if it fails, it dooms him to a life-long conflict between intellect and conscience.

Skepticism says to him: "You have been led to doubt some parts of your creed; therefore cast away the whole of it, and, in utter intellectual nakedness, go about to seek for new beliefs in which you can clothe yourself." Alas! too many young men yield to this counsel. Rejecting the faith of their fathers, they reject also the practices which depend on that faith. No longer believing in God, they give up all forms of worship. They withdraw themselves from the church and from all its hallowed associations. No longer acknowledging the claims of Christianity as a system of belief, they feel themselves no longer bound by the restraints of Christianity as a rule of life. They expose themselves at once, without any bulwark of

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defense, to all the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil; and too often they make utter shipwreck, not only of Christian faith, but also of moral character.

There is a more excellent way. There is a golden mean between these two extremes. History warrants us in the belief that the main outlines of the faith which the church has held throughout all ages are true. History also leads us to believe that the details of creed and the philosophy associated with Christian faith must be modified from age to age. It is the young man's duty, then, to meet the questions that come to him in a spirit which is in accord with these teachings of history. It is his right and duty to assume that there is a basis of truth in the faith which he has been taught, but that the incidentals and details of that faith will probably need, for him, some modification. Recognizing these two principles, the path is clear. We ought to hold our traditional faith as the basis of action, and, at the same time, keep ourselves ready with advancing knowledge to modify any part of that faith. The beliefs we already have we should hold on to till we get something better to take

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their place. Whenever a new belief commends itself to us as a new truth, we should seek to make such modifications of previous beliefs as are requisite for harmonious adjustment; and thus gradually form for ourselves the creed of our manhood and old age.

And we need not wait till the creed of our future is finished before commencing a life of Christian duty. Let us act each day, each hour, earnestly, vigorously, intensely, in the light of the best conceptions of truth we have thus far been able to gain. And, as we advance in years, and progress in knowledge and thought, we shall come to larger, clearer views of truth. We cannot, indeed, come to a perfect knowledge of God's truth here. Not by the sunlight or candle-light of earth, but by the light of that world where the sunlight and the candle-light alike are needless, we may expect to read God's truth in its perfection. But it is our privilege to be continually making progress in the comprehension of divine things. We may put ourselves in the path of God's own guidance. We may work out our own salvation in intelligent accord with God's own

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purposes. So in us shall be fulfilled the benediction of the Master, "If ye continue in my word, ye shall know the truth." And so for us shall be answered the great high-priestly prayer of Jesus, and through the truth we shall be sanctified. And thus shall swell continually into a deeper, fuller harmony, the sweet accord of faith and duty. So shall we ever be in the path toward truth. I have very little faith in the ability of the human mind to find out the truth on any question by a short process of cramming; but I have great faith in the power of the human soul that puts itself into alliance with truth and duty to grow in comprehension of the truth. And this progress of the individual will be in harmony with the great progress of the church universal; for both will be in the line of God's own leading. Thus we think of our religious opinions not as a suit of clothes which we can take off and put on at pleasure. Our religious opinions are a growth—an organic, vital development in our souls. They grow with our growth, and strengthen with our strength. Our conceptions of truth grow as our bodies grow. The gristly skeleton of childhood serves the

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purpose of the child's life, but serves also as the mold in which is developed the bony skeleton of manhood. Every organ is at once a machine for accomplishing the purposes of the present life, and a matrix in which is developed the corresponding organ which shall be fitted for the larger work of years to come. So our childhood's conceptions of truth, imperfect as they are, serve to guide our child life, but serve also as the matrix in which are developed the larger conceptions of our manhood. In this growth of individual thought, as in the progress of the church at large, there is the continuity of organic development. Each stage, alike of individual and of collective religious life, is in vital connection with the past and the future. And, when at last that great metamorphosis comes to us, and we pass from this embryo state of existence to the fuller life of that other world, there will still be no break in the continuity of spiritual life. We shall be born into the glories of that heavenly world with eyes already prepared for its beatific vision.

III

ETHICAL AND RELIGIOUS LESSONS OF SCIENCE

III

ETHICAL AND RELIGIOUS LESSONS OF SCIENCE¹

THE study of the relations of science and religion, which has seemed to me probably the most important part of my life-work, has required a division of my time and interest between the two great territories of thought whose relations to each other I have sought in some degree to interpret. In a certain sense, therefore, I have lived a double life, functioning sometimes, so to speak, as the Reverend Doctor Jekyll, and sometimes as Professor Hyde. In the two different capacities in which I have acted, I have been associated with two classes of intellectual workers whose habits of thought differ considerably from each other. I have learned to regard both groups of my associates with profound respect and admiration for their high intellectual and moral qualities, and to

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feel a genial sympathy with both in what seem to me their faults and limitations.

I wish to speak first of one exceedingly wholesome ethical effect of the habits of mind involved in scientific study, altogether irrespective of the particular opinions to which that study may lead. Scientific men, I think, exhibit the virtue of truthfulness in a higher degree than any other class of people. Of course, I do not mean that every individual of the class is thoroughly truthful. I have heard of a really able and justly renowned paleontologist who is said to have printed false dates on some of his publications, in order to secure a claim of priority in the naming and description of certain species of fossils. But, if now and then a scientific man lies, it no more invalidates the claim of truthfulness for scientific men in general, than the fact that once in a while a minister of the gospel embezzles the funds of the church, or runs away with a deaconess or with the leading soprano of the choir, proves that the clergy as a class are immoral. In general, it is easy for a scientific man to be thoroughly truthful, for the simple reason that he is dealing with

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questions detached from human interests, the answer to which is therefore not likely to be influenced by prejudice. If a geologist is studying the question whether the cause of the climate of the Glacial period was an impoverishment of the supply of carbon dioxide in the earth's atmosphere, or an excessive degree of eccentricity in the earth's orbit, he is not likely to feel any strong personal interest inclining him to prefer one answer of the question to the other. A fondness for a pet hypothesis may, indeed, create in the mind a certain amount of prejudice, but it is not likely to constitute a very strong motive for a misconception or misrepresentation of the facts involved.

On the other hand, in the case of ministers of the gospel, temptations to insincerity continually arise from the fact that we are not dealing with abstract questions, but are dealing with questions of practical duty. It is not our business as preachers to teach abstract truth, but to persuade men to a right course of life. Precisely in that condition lies a subtle temptation to be not quite truthful. We are tempted to ask, in regard to any assertion which we make, not is that

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assertion exactly true, but, rather, will that assertion tend to lead men to do right. Of course the law of veracity does not require a man to say all that he thinks about any subject on every occasion and in every company. But when a man who has come to regard a traditional opinion as very doubtful and probably erroneous asserts from the pulpit without qualification the truth of that opinion, for fear that he may disturb the faith of other people, he is certainly guilty of a violation of the law of veracity. Sometimes this sort of insincerity is even explicitly inculcated as a duty. In the recent decades in which the controversies over evolution and the higher criticism have been so violent, men of high authority in the churches have often explicitly affirmed that it is the duty of a preacher who has come to have some doubts in regard to the traditional views of the church, to suppress those doubts for fear he may injure the faith of others. Some of the men who have given these counsels, particularly to young ministers, have seemed to assume that there is no necessary connection between a man's beliefs and his utterances, and that it is legitimate and praiseworthy

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for a man to announce opinions which he does not believe to be true.

Of course the true pastor will never forget the essentially practical character of genuine preaching. His business is to lead the members of his congregation into a better moral and religious life, not to lecture on doubtful questions of criticism or science or speculative philosophy or even theological dogma. His habitual selection of themes and his treatment of those themes will be governed by the dominant purpose of his work. He will emphasize the great truths of religion which are the foundation of the Christian life. I only insist that, when the preacher does refer to doubtful matters, in incidental allusions, or in occasional serious discussions of questions which are disturbing the faith of many Christians, he is bound to say only what he can say sincerely.

The minister of the gospel is tempted to insincerity in his utterances, not only in regard to Christian dogma, but also in regard to his personal feelings. How easily one is tempted in a funeral address to try to express in language and in tone and manner an emotion of sympathetic grief which seems

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appropriate but which as a matter of fact the speaker does not feel! How easy it is, in speaking of the solemn truths of religion, to try to exhibit to the audience a degree of emotion which the speaker does not at the moment feel, however fitting that emotion might seem to be. It is worth while incidentally to express the conviction that the simulation of emotion is for the preacher as bad rhetorically as it is ethically. Feelings must fluctuate, with changes in our general mental and physical condition and in our environment. The sincere, though it may be unimpassioned, statement of profound convictions means more than any transient glow of feeling, even if the feeling is genuine. We have need, with all our hearts, to say "Amen" to the prayer of the Master, "Sanctify them in the truth." Only in the truth can we be sanctified. Only through the utterance of the truth can we be the means of the sanctification of others.

I cannot help thinking that it would be a distinct gain to the ethical as well as to the intellectual standing of the clergy, if every man who enters the ministry had done some considerable amount of laboratory

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work in some department of science, so as to acquire the power of exact observation and absolutely truthful description, and had associated with scientific workers sufficiently to feel the influence of the scientific habit in cultivating the sense of veracity.

I pass to another phase of the subject, which will require more extended consideration, namely, the bearing of scientific facts and theories upon religious beliefs.

Theists of every age and of every variety of opinion have believed that some evidence of the existence of God could be found in the phenomena of the material universe. As Paul declares in the Epistle to the Romans, "The invisible things of him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even his everlasting power and divinity." On the one hand, every man has a consciousness of his own personal acts of volition, and an experience of movements, primarily of his own body, secondarily of external objects, which seem to him to be the result of his own volition. On the other hand, every man has the experience of movements in

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the external universe which produce impressions upon himself. The suggestion is a natural one that the movements of material objects which produce an effect upon him have their cause in the volition of a being or beings more or less similar to himself. This I take to be the origin of the belief in a personal God or in personal gods, which has prevailed so widely in the human race. The question arises, How far is that primitive and naïve assumption of volition as the cause of all movements in nature justified by a more exact and methodical study of nature?

Even in my boyhood my thoughts were already busy with questions bearing on the relation of science and religion. Before I entered college I had read Hitchcock's Religion of Geology and Miller's Testimony of the Rocks. I was intensely interested in those books, and my thinking was deeply impressed by them. Through Miller I came to know at second hand somewhat of the contribution which Thomas Chalmers had made to natural theology. In my student days I believed that the science of geology, which was then still looked upon with fear

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and aversion by many religious people, was capable of affording almost demonstrative evidence of the existence of God.

Since an uncaused beginning is unthinkable, we must suppose that the universe was either created or eternal. The metaphysical arguments against the eternity of the universe probably never convinced anybody with the exception of their authors. But Chalmers proposed to leave unanswered the question of the eternity of matter, and base the argument for the existence of God on the collocations of matter, which certainly are not eternal. From this point of departure, the argument for the existence of a Creator was based especially upon the existence of plants and animals. Geology proves beyond reasonable doubt that there was a time when the earth was lifeless, and that the present races of plants and animals made their first appearance within a time which is not only finite but very short in comparison with the whole duration of the earth. When Chalmers wrote, there was no natural process known whereby a new species of plant or animal could be originated. The theories of Lamarck and of the

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anonymous author of "Vestiges of Creation" were as utterly discredited as the evolutionary dreams of classical philosophers. Everybody supposed that the dictum of Linnæus must be accepted as absolute truth, "*Species tot sunt quot diversas formas ab initio produxit Infinitum Ens.*" If, then, multitudes of species of plants and animals originated at a comparatively recent time, their origin could be attributed only to the direct action of creative will. The origin of new species was naturally spoken of as miraculous, not exactly in the theological sense, but in a sense closely analogous. I entered upon my life-work, therefore, with a confident belief that the science which I was to teach afforded something very near to a demonstration of theistic doctrine.

While I was accepting those views of Chalmers and Miller as the final settlement of the theistic problem, the epoch-making work of Darwin had started the great intellectual revolution which marked the middle of the nineteenth century. Darwin's theory was first announced in 1858, and *The Origin of Species* was published in 1859. During my college course, which ended in

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1865, I never heard Darwin or his theory mentioned by any of my teachers. I read his book with intense admiration in 1867, but it took me several years more to digest and assimilate the arguments of Darwin sufficiently to become an evolutionist.

Darwin's discovery of natural selection was not, indeed, a complete solution of the problem of organic evolution. It did, however, show that there are processes actually going on in nature such as would under reasonably supposable conditions result in so wide divergence of offspring from the character of the parent stock as to constitute a new species. In the light of that principle, which showed how variation, instead of being merely oscillatory, could at times become progressive, naturalists were ready, as they had not been before, to read and interpret the innumerable suggestions of evolution in the structures of every organism and in the relations of organisms to each other and to space and time. In a few years the doctrine of evolution came to be accepted with substantial unanimity by all classes of naturalists, and after the lapse of a somewhat longer time the belief of scien-

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tific specialists came to be adopted into the general thought of humanity.

Darwin's epoch-making discovery was concerned merely with the origin of a species by descent with modification from a pre-existent species. It had no bearing upon the origin of life. But in scientific thought analogy goes far beyond the conclusions established by cogent induction. While we have at most only the faintest gleams of light in regard to the processes by which non-living matter first came to be living, scientists believe, on the force of general analogy, that the transition was probably made by some evolutionary process. We cannot believe that the chain of evolutionary progress from the nebula to man was broken at the point of the origin of life. Nor can we accept the nebula as an ultimate fact. However vague may be our knowledge of the nature of the nebula from which the solar system was derived, or of the processes in which that nebula originated, we are constrained by analogy to believe that the nebula itself was evolved. By that same path of analogy, scientific men in general were led to believe that the various kinds of

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chemical atoms were the result of some sort of evolutionary process, instead of being created once for all changeless and indissoluble; and the belief which was based on analogy has found confirmation in the marvelous revelations of radioactivity, which have shown the atom of uranium breaking up into atoms of helium and lead. There is no rational stopping place this side of the conception of creative power and intelligence eternally immanent in an eternal universe.

Of course the supposed demonstration of Chalmers and Miller has vanished. Nor can we fail to recognize that the argument from design for the existence of God, in the form in which it was presented by Paley and his followers, has been seriously damaged by the theory of evolution. Paley found, as he supposed, the strongest evidence of design in the mutual adaptation of the parts of a complex organism. A typical illustration of this line of argument is seen in the eye, whose performance as an organ of vision depends upon an approximately perfect adaptation of the curved surfaces and refractive indices of the series of transparent media through which the ray of

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light passes before it reaches the retina. Moreover, in addition to the essential parts of the eye, there are the various accessory parts by which vision is directed to different points, refractive power is changed in accommodation to the different distances of objects, and the delicate organ is protected from the chances of injury. Certainly, the Paleyan argument is considerably shattered when we have learned that the earliest form of eye was simply a nerve-ending on the surface of the body, covered by a fleck of pigment more absorptive of radiant energy than the general integument; and that the eyes of the higher forms of life have gradually been evolved from that simpler form, in large part by the action of natural selection in preserving desirable variations and causing the extinction of undesirable variations. A homely illustration may serve to show how the Paleyan argument is affected by evolution. If we find a vessel almost perfectly filled with a variety of objects, the salient angles of one object fitting into re-entrant angles around it, so that the amount of space left vacant is utterly insignificant, the supposition would be a reasonable one

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that some one had intended the vessel to be nearly full; but, if, in the method of the Paleyan natural theology, we should argue from the curious and complex form of a single object that every angle and curve of its surface had been designed for the purpose of filling the space in which it was found, our conclusion would be rather disturbed if we learned that the vessel had been shaken until the small objects had rattled into the chinks between the large ones and the hard objects had impressed their shape upon the soft ones. The argument for the existence of God from the material universe must be based, not on the evidence afforded by the approximately perfect adaptation of minute details, but by the intellectuality of nature as viewed in its larger relations. A book which we can read is the work of an intelligence in some sense kindred with our own. The intelligibility of nature to human thought, is the evidence of the divine thought which nature expresses.

There is a profound ethical impressiveness in the sublime idea of the divine immanence in an eternal universe. We no longer have to conceive of the Deity spend-

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ing a solitary eternity in the contemplation of his own attributes like a Hindoo Brahm, or, as some theologians have imagined, finding his delight in the mutual affection of the persons of the Trinity; then creating a universe by a single fiat, and abandoning it to run its own course by self-subsisting laws and forces; and subsequently only occasionally interposing to produce some extraordinary effect, as, for instance, in the origin of life or in the origin of human intelligence. The God we worship to-day is not the God of supposed gaps in the continuity of nature, but the God of the continuity of nature. Thus all nature becomes sacred with a divine presence.

“We lack but open eye and ear
To find the Orient’s marvels here;
The still small voice in autumn’s hush,
Yon maple wood the burning bush.”

We must recognize, indeed, that in large degree the ethical impression of the divine immanence is felt by some scientific men who do not profess a theistic belief. In one sense there is, indeed, very little difference between some of the theism and some of the atheism or pantheism of our time. The

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naïve anthropomorphism of the Old Testament and the still grosser anthropomorphism of John Milton have vanished from our theological thought. If we say we believe in the personality of God, we can, strictly speaking, mean nothing more than that, in the nature of Him who dwells "in light unapproachable, whom no man hath seen nor can see," there is something of which the fittest symbol our experience can offer is found in human personality; and there are many thoughtful men who do not feel at liberty formally to profess our creed of the personality of God, who yet recognize with as profound a reverence as ours the mysterious Power

"Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man."

Profoundly impressive is the idea which modern science gives us of the progress of nature to fuller and fuller expression of the divine thought. The processes which are common to all organic life are developed in man into spiritual significance; first the natural, after that the spiritual. The two

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characteristic processes of all organic life are nutrition and reproduction. Each of these in man takes on a spiritual significance. When the Pithecanthropus or some other ancestor of man gathered his mate and his cubs around him to eat together the prey which he had captured, instead of gnawing the bones alone, a step had been taken in the development of human civilization. The social meal for the family, the group of friends, or the society of persons of kindred thought and purpose, has been an important factor in the progress of human civilization. Whether in the desert tent of the Bedouin or in the banquet hall of an august society, the social meal is the bond of union among men. In the sacred symbolism of our religion, the form of a social meal celebrates the union of the saints of all lands and of all ages in holy fellowship with the Divine Master. From the simplest form of organic reproduction, from the conjugation of two unicellular organisms—cells to which imagination can hardly attribute a rudiment of consciousness, and which present no differences from each other which we can recognize as sexual—mutually blending their con-

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tents and developing a swarm of spores,—it is a long journey to the sweet sanctities of the Christian home. But no less real is the unity of the process of reproduction through all grades of life, vegetable and animal. A striking illustration of the spiritual significance of reproduction is found in the suggestion of which John Fiske was the author, that the evolution of the moral and social characteristics of man was largely the result of the lengthened period of helpless infancy in the human species. That thought, first suggested by Fiske, has been developed with marvelous beauty in Henry Drummond's *Ascent of Man*, in the two chapters entitled, respectively, "The Evolution of a Mother," and "The Evolution of a Father."

The ethical and religious significance of nature comes to revelation in man; only when the prophecy of the ages finds its fulfilment can we understand its meaning. The doctrines of evolution and conservation of energy, the characteristic ideas of the second half of the nineteenth century, impressed upon the mind of humanity the sublime conception of the unity of nature. That conception led naturally to an attempt

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to interpret all phenomena in terms of matter and motion under the action of purely physical and chemical forces. The *reductio ad absurdum* of that tendency is shown in the gross materialism of Karl Vogt's dictum: that it is the function of the brain to produce thought, as it is the function of muscles to contract, and the function of the kidneys to secrete urine. If that proposition means anything, it means that thought is either a form of matter or a form of motion, and it is difficult to say which alternative is the more absurd. In the frank recognition of those facts of human experience which cannot be formulated in terms of mass and velocity, lies the supreme evidence of God. The God who is veiled in nature is revealed in man. The really fundamental doctrine of religion is the personality of man. For him who genuinely believes in human personality, the conception of the personality of God is a pretty easy corollary.

The ethical significance of nature is revealed in man, the culmination of nature; the ethical significance of man is revealed in Christ, the ideal man. If I were to name the peculiar quality which characterizes

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Christian character, as distinct from the character which is morally clean but untouched by the influence of Christian revelation, I should be disposed to use the old Methodist phrase, "conviction of sin." Ethical conceptions grow deeper and higher in the light of the teaching and character of Jesus. The soul that has learned in the school of Jesus is not satisfied with right conduct, but aspires after a harmony of soul with God. When Job had the vision of Jehovah and heard his voice out of the whirlwind, his boastful self-satisfaction vanished, and he cried out, "I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes." The vision of God in Christ and the divine tenderness of his voice lead us to the humiliation and penitence out of which blooms

" . . . The white flower of a blameless life."

This intense conviction of sin expresses itself continually in the writings of Christian poets, as, for instance, in Tennyson's words,

"Forgive what seemed my sin in me,
What seemed my worth since I began,
For merit lives from man to man,
And not from man, O Lord, to thee."

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It is to the poor in spirit, to those that mourn, to the meek, to those who hunger and thirst after a righteousness not yet possessed, that Jesus gives his blessing.

Professor Hyde's friends are in many respects as good as the Reverend Doctor Jekyll's. They are clean in word and deed. They are just and generous. I would trust my money, my life, and my reputation, to the protection of one of my sets of friends as willingly as to that of the other. The unselfish love of truth which I find in scientific men commands my admiration. They show a severer truthfulness, as I have already said frankly, but I trust not unkindly, than I find in the average of ministers of the gospel. They would make good martyrs. Science has had its martyrs in the past, and there is plenty of martyr stuff among the devotees of science to-day. But still I feel that there is something lacking. Integrity is transfigured into holiness only when the soul in penitence and self-abasement gazes upon the divine radiance in the face of Jesus.

IV

THE SACREDNESS OF HUMAN PERSONALITY

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"And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.

"So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them."—*Genesis 1. 26, 27.*

THE editor who compiled our present book of Genesis placed in the beginning of his work two narratives of creation. The first of them occupies the whole of the first chapter and the first three verses of the second chapter of Genesis. The second narrative begins with the fourth verse of the second chapter. The verses which have been read as the text stand near the end of the first of these narratives.

The first of these narratives is the work of a much later time than the second, and represents a much more advanced state of

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Hebrew religious thought. The interval between their dates of composition was probably about three and a half centuries. The later narrative, which comes first in the arrangement of our present book of Genesis, is remarkably free from the naïve and crass anthropomorphism which characterizes the earlier narrative. The image of clay molded by the hands of Jehovah and vivified by the divine breath breathed into its nostrils, the rib taken from the man for the manufacture of a woman, the garden planted by Jehovah, and Jehovah's evening walk in the garden in the cool of the day, represent an order of conceptions which religious thought had outgrown before the date of the later narrative. Anthropomorphic, indeed, is that later narrative. All religious thought and language is more or less anthropomorphic, for every conception which the human mind can form of God is reached through the symbolism of human experience and action. But surely no anthropomorphic conception could be more sublime than that of the creation of a universe in obedience to a progressive series of divine commands. "Let light be." "Let the waters bring forth." "Let

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the earth bring forth." Thus is brought before our minds the sublime conception of an orderly, progressive development of the material universe in fulfilment of the divine will. In our modern language, such an orderly, progressive manifestation of phenomena in the universe we call evolution.

The final stage of this creative evolution is the appearance of a being in the image of God. We are told that God blessed these highest and noblest of his earthly creatures, and bade them to subdue the earth and to have dominion. That dominion man, indeed, has exercised. Within limits, he dominates nature by his own thought, as all nature is dominated by the divine thought. He thinks God's thoughts after him, gradually interpreting the riddles of nature. He aspires after spiritual communion with God, and claims an inheritance in God's immortality.

The evidences of the evolutionary origin of man are the same that have compelled belief in the evolutionary origin of other species of organisms. There are certainly very few, if any, biologists or geologists who do not believe that man was descended

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from some type of anthropoid ape. In fact, we have at least a plausible conjecture as to the precise conditions which led to the evolution of man. As the climate grew gradually colder, in the age immediately preceding the last great Glacial period, the forests in which the simian ancestors of man had lived an arboreal life, feeding upon the fruits of the trees, became less luxuriant, and the supply of food less abundant. Some of the descendants of these ancestors of man, it has been conjectured, adjusted themselves to the changing conditions by abandoning their arboreal life, living on the surface of the earth, where they stood and walked on two feet, changing their diet to one in part, at least, carnivorous, and developing larger brains under the necessity of obtaining food in ways that required the exercise of a higher degree of intelligence.

There is, indeed, a mystery in the evolution from the brute creation of a being possessed of language, science, art, civilization, ethics, and religion; as there is a mystery, in an earlier stage of the history of creation, in the evolution of vegetable and animal life from inorganic matter. In each case, with

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our present knowledge the mystery is insoluble. Yet there is one thought that pierces the darkness with a gleam of light. That illuminating principle is that the cause of evolution is not matter but indwelling Spirit. Matter, whether we conceive of it as eternal or as created, is not a self-subsisting entity. The material universe is only the thin and perfectly flexible garment of God. All material changes are only the expression of the will of immanent Deity. In the light of that principle, though we can give no explanation of the process of the evolution of life or of the evolution of the human soul, we can be reconciled to the mystery, and can wait for fuller knowledge.

But there is an easy way of disposing of a mystery, and that is to deny or ignore the facts which it is impossible to explain. I have heard of a man who saw a camel in a menagerie, never having known anything about the characteristics of the animal before. The proportions of the creature—his long, ungainly legs, his clumsy, padded feet, the shapeless hump on his back—did not correspond at all with the man's conception of the appropriate symmetry of an animal

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body. After walking around the beast and viewing him from different standpoints, he summed up his conclusion in the proposition, "There ain't no such animal." In a somewhat similar spirit, the materialistic philosophy of our time seeks to escape from the mystery of human existence by denying or ignoring everything in human experience which cannot be formulated in terms of mass and velocity. So consciousness is said to be a mode of motion, and thought is said to be a secretion of the brain. All ethical distinctions are regarded as fictitious. Religion is only a dream. Man is only an animal; and natural selection, to which he owes his origin, is the only law which he is bound to obey.

A most interesting exposition of this philosophy as held by many scientific men in Germany, and of its results in conduct, is given in an article by Vernon Kellogg in the *Atlantic Monthly* for August, 1917, under the title, "Headquarters Nights." According to this philosophy, man is the supreme product of animal evolution, and the Teutonic race is the supreme product of human evolution. That race has come to

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be what it is by the principle of the survival of the fittest. The race need acknowledge no allegiance to any other law than the law to which it owes its origin. The world belongs to the races that can take it and hold it. From that standpoint, our scientific German friends can contemplate the massacre of Belgians and Poles with the same equanimity with which we regard the slaughter of pigs and cows in the stock-yards of Chicago. The prevalence of this materialistic philosophy among the educated classes is undoubtedly in part the explanation of the horrible "*schrecklichkeit*" of which the Germans have been guilty.

Surely, if we accept the implications of the declaration that man was made in the image of God, we cannot make the principle of natural selection the ethical standard in human relations. No "law of the jungle" can govern the mutual relations of beings who bear the divine image and count themselves heirs of God's immortality. That conception invests every human personality with an inviolable sacredness. No individual, no class, no sex, no nation, no race, has a right to exploit another simply for the

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benefit of the stronger. To use any human being as a toy or a tool is a crime. This doctrine of the equal sacredness of every human person is the foundation of democracy.

But the religious life of no nation rises to the level of the loftiest utterances of its prophets. That Hebrew people whose ancient Scriptures enshrined this majestic oracle of democracy, reveals too often in its history a conception of God as a tutelary tribal Deity. The lofty thought of Genesis was like a seed that had failed to germinate until it sprang into new life in the teaching of Jesus. When Jesus taught his disciples that prayer of all prayers, "Our Father who art in heaven," he made vital and fruitful the great truth that all men are brothers by virtue of their common relation to the heavenly Father. Jesus was the first true democrat. Our humanitarian civilization, with its emancipation of women, its abolition of slavery, its constitutional systems of representative government, its universal education, its hospitals and reformatories, its missionary activities, is all the fruit of the conception of the sacredness of every human

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personality, in that all mankind, as children of the heavenly Father, are made in the image of God. Yuan Shi Kai said to Bishop Bashford, "After you Christians came to China and went about preaching the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, despotism became forever impossible."

Alas, that, within the pale of nominal Christianity, the conception of God the Father of all mankind has too often degenerated into the old conception of a tutelary tribal God! The "*Gott mit uns*" of our German cousins has been rather below the level of the war-god of Joshua. We can hardly avoid the feeling that the "*Gott mit uns*" is in a considerable degree a renaissance of the thunder-god of the old Teutonic mythology. Christian Germany has been practically no better than atheistic Germany, though it has formulated its conduct in somewhat different fashion. German theologians and pastors have defied the moral sense of mankind in their utterances and publications in regard to the war about as flagrantly as German scientists and philosophers.

The purpose of our country in the war

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is formulated in the noble words of President Wilson, "The world must be made safe for democracy." In great degree we have succeeded in the task. In April, 1917, in a report which was adopted by the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, I wrote these words: "The Czar has gone; the Kaisers must go. The only monarchs the new age can tolerate are those whose crowns are only symbols of national unity and whose decrees but register a nation's will." I knew not then how quickly or how completely those words would find fulfillment. The Hohenzollern dynasty, upon which rests the chief responsibility for the war, is overthrown, and we behold the United States of Germany rising on the ruins of the empire. The Hapsburg dynasty is gone, and the heterogeneous mass of Austria-Hungary is broken up into a group of independent republics. The crowns of kinglings and princelings have been falling like withered leaves in an autumn gale. Only nations which are republican in spirit, if not in form, can enter the great world confederacy beneath whose sway we may hope for universal peace. In

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the reconstruction of the map of Europe, the rights, the feelings, the aspirations of nations long subjected to alien tyranny will be respected, and so far as possible those rights will be maintained and those aspirations will be fulfilled. We shall have, doubtless, the republics of Poland and Czechoslovakia and Jugo-Slavia; Alsace and Lorraine will be restored to France, and Italia Irredenta will find its redemption. The problem, however, of the reconstruction of national boundaries will not be an easy one, though its solution be attempted in the most altruistic spirit. There is an Ulster in every Ireland. There is no territory which can be circumscribed by any definite and intelligible boundaries, which does not include one or more districts the majority of whose population differs, in race, language, religion, traditions, and aspirations, from the people of the larger area within which it is included. So complex has been the result of migration and intermixture of nations in the centuries of European history, that the solution of the problem of boundaries can be at the best only approximate. But we may trust that right principles will govern

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that reconstruction. The time is past forever when human populations can be bought and sold like herds of cattle.

Yes, autocracy has been overthrown; and we and our allies are proud of our function as the avenging angels who have overthrown the enemies of mankind. But are we worthy of that glorious mission to which we have been called? Is it only the Central Powers that have offended against the great principle of Christian democracy? Have the rights of every individual and of every class been carefully regarded in the political and social and economic life of the nations that are now triumphant? Is the sacredness of every human personality practically recognized in our own country or in any of the countries which share with us the glory of the great triumph? I quote a striking passage from an article by Wilbur Daniel Steele in the *Atlantic Monthly* for May, 1918:

"This war began so long ago, so long before Sarajevo, so long before 'balances of power' were thought of, so long before the 'provinces' were lost and won, before Bismarck and the lot of them were begotten, or their fathers. So many,

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many years of questions put, and half-answers given in return. Questions, questions: questions of a power-loom in the North Counties; questions of a mill-hand's lodging in one Manchester or another, of the weight of a head-tax in India, of a widow's mass for her dead in Spain; questions of a black man in the Congo, of an eighth-black man in New Orleans, of a Christian in Turkey, an Irishman in Dublin, a Jew in Moscow, a French cripple in the streets of Zabern; questions of an idiot sitting on a throne; questions of a girl asking her vote on a Hyde Park rostrum, of a girl asking her price in the dark of a Chicago doorway: whole questions half-answered, hungry questions half-fed, mutilated fag-ends of questions piling up and piling up year by year, decade after decade. Listen! There came a time when it wouldn't do, wouldn't do at all. There came a time when the son of all those questions stood up in the world, final, unequivocal, naked, devouring, saying: 'Now you shall answer me. You shall look me squarely in the face at last, and you shall look at nothing else; you shall take your hands out of your pockets and your tongues out of your cheeks, and no matter how long, no matter what the blood and anguish of it, you shall answer me now with a whole answer—or perish!'

Let me suggest some of the problems

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which the spirit of a true democracy requires us to consider in our own country.

One of the noblest fruits of Christianity has been the emancipation of women, and probably nowhere has that emancipation been so nearly accomplished, in the most important respects, as in our own country. America has long been spoken of as the paradise of women. But is our legislation in regard to vice, are the ethical standards maintained by public opinion, is our treatment of the poor victims of man's lust and greed, up to the requirement of the principle that the personality of a woman is as sacred as that of a man?

Does that principle of the equal sacredness of human personality require the extension of the right of suffrage to women? The question of woman suffrage I do not purpose to discuss. So far as I can see, there is still some difference of opinion, not only among the best men, but also among the best women, on the question whether woman suffrage would be on the whole an advantage to the community. I only wish to point out that the admission of equal sacredness of rights does not logically re-

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quire identity of function. Certainly, in many respects, the functions of women in society must be different from those of men. However heartily we may applaud the heroic patriotism which inspired those Russian women in the "battalion of death," and which kept them faithful to their country when men had betrayed it, no right-minded person who thinks of what it means for a woman to bear arms and to share the experiences that must belong to the life of a soldier, can contemplate the entrance of women into an army with any other feeling than that of utter horror. One of the great anxieties which I feel in regard to the probable incidental results of the war through which we have passed, is precisely the fear that the scarcity of labor and the consequent forcing of women into a great many tasks hitherto performed by men will result in the permanent employment of women in occupations which are unfavorable for the best development of womanhood. In the countries of Europe, where the destruction of manhood has been greater than in our own country, the peril to womanhood is greater. The principle of true democracy

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requires the recognition of the equal sacredness of the rights of all classes. It does not require identity of function of all classes. The question of woman suffrage must be decided on other grounds, and on that question I express no opinion.

Take the problem of inferior races. That problem appears as a national problem in every country inhabited by two or more very different races. It presents itself also as an international problem. It is only a silly sentimentalism that can deny that some races are inferior to others. The race from which have come inflected speech and alphabetic writing, the great classic literatures ancient and modern, the great philosophies, the revelations of science from Hipparchus and Aristotle to Newton and Darwin, the applications of science in the useful arts, the system of constitutional representative government under which liberty is protected by law, the great missionary religions—that race can surely claim superiority to any other. China and Japan have taken at second hand a civilization which they had little share in making. In fact, I have a good deal of sympathy with the claim of our

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German cousins that the whitest of the whites, the tall, long-headed, fair-skinned, tow-haired, and blue-eyed race of Northern Europe, the Teutonic or Nordic race, is the race which exhibits in greatest purity the highest stage of human development.

In the past the too frequent procedure of the white race has been to exploit the inferior races if it could use them, and to destroy them if it did not see how to use them. Certainly there is very much in the conduct of the white race toward Indians, Negroes, and Mongolians in our own country which no one can defend.

But, with the best intentions, the problem of the inferior races is one of tremendous difficulty. Some very simple solutions have been attempted. Our cousins in Australia have treated the aborigines of that continent with an inhumanity several shades worse than that which we have shown toward the Indians. In Australia, as in the United States, the white race has taken possession of the land; but in Australia the process has involved a good deal of systematic massacre. Only a remnant of the aborigines survives. In Tasmania the native popula-

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tion has become absolutely extinct. That solution of the problem is certainly simple, but simplicity is its only merit. Fifty years ago our fathers attempted a solution of one phase of the problem of inferior races which was equally simple. At the close of the Civil War our fathers gave manhood suffrage to the Negroes, though very many of them, under a thin veneer of Anglo-Saxon civilization, were essentially barbarians. Our fathers trusted that giving these people political equality would immediately produce in them intellectual, moral, and social equality. The shameful story of carpet-bagger rule in the Southern States showed the worthlessness of that simple solution. But how ought we to deal with a population in which two races of very different capacities are mingled? Impartial suffrage for all races is all right in Connecticut. Would it seem to us equally satisfactory if we lived in South Carolina or Mississippi, where people of Negro race and of mixed race make up the majority? What would we think of manhood suffrage for the inferior race, if we lived in the South African Republic, where the English and Dutch to-

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gether are approximately one sixth of the population, five sixths being Negro savages? What ought we to do with the inferior races in the Philippine Islands? It is not my purpose to-day to answer these questions, but only to point out the two guiding principles. On the one hand the superior race must not simply exploit the inferior race. Their rights are as sacred as those of the stronger and wiser. But equal sacredness of right does not mean identity of function in society.

Take the economic problem. Is our industrial system truly democratic? Or do we still find the laboring classes in large degree exploited by the capitalists? Of course society must protect itself, and we cannot tolerate the crimes of the I. W. W. We must imprison many of them, and every now and then we must hang a few of them; but we must reform the conditions out of which the I. W. W. has been evolved. At the present time, skilled laborers, by organization in trade-unions and by collective bargaining, are able to secure for themselves pretty good wages and pretty good conditions of employment. In the last year the extreme scarcity of laborers has raised to a

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high figure the wages even of the unskilled; but in ordinary times the condition of unskilled laborers is little better than that of slaves. In fact, in some ways the condition of the unskilled laborer may be even worse than if he were a slave. It is for the interest of the owner to preserve the life of a slave, for, if the slave dies, he must buy another. When the supply of unskilled laborers exceeds the demand, the death of a laborer is no loss to the employer. He can fill the place with no pecuniary loss and with little inconvenience. It is obviously true in general that the wage system is an improvement upon the system of slavery, in which the laborer was a piece of property, or the system of serfdom, in which the peasant was an appurtenance of the land. But I cannot believe that a system which affords occasion for so continuous antagonism between employer and employee is the last word of economic science in regard to industrial organization.

Not only in the industrial system of a single country do we find problems which must be treated in the light of the great principle of democracy, but also in interna-

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tional relations. Each country frames its system of tariffs and its immigration laws primarily with reference to its own interests. But has our nation or any nation a right to legislate to secure its own advantage at cost of obvious injury to the populations of other countries? While seeking primarily the improvement of social and economic conditions in our own land, are we not bound to regard the welfare of peoples beyond the seas?

I have suggested questions which I have not answered. Some of them will not be answered satisfactorily in the immediate future. Wiser men in years to come must seek in the fear of God to find their full solution. My present object is only to emphasize that fundamental truth, that no answer to these questions will be the right answer, and no answer to these questions can receive the permanent assent of humanity, which is not based upon the principle of the inviolable sacredness of every human personality. The full recognition of that principle will require some sacrifice on the part of the strong for the benefit of the weak. We must be willing to yield somewhat of our

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privileges and immunities. We must think and speak less of our rights and more of our duties. Only those who enter into the spirit of the first true Democrat, the spirit of Him who lived and died for all humanity, male and female, Jew and Gentile, white, yellow, red, brown, and black—only those are fit to lead mankind, out of the horror of war and the misery of oppression, into the promised land of freedom and brotherhood, into the “new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.”

V

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THE theme to be considered at this time is not the ultimate New Testament but the New Testament of to-day. I know something of what the New Testament was five and thirty years ago when I became a member of this Conference. I know something of what the New Testament is to-day. I am neither a prophet nor a prophet's son, and I know not what the New Testament will be to the church of future centuries.

Our conception of the New Testament has been changed by what we may call the lower criticism. The Greek text has been revised, and we know much more nearly than we knew a few decades ago what the original writers of the books of the New Testament intended to say. We have not only a more trustworthy Greek text, but we have a far better translation into English than

¹ Address before the Mid-year Assembly of the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1905.

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we had a few decades ago. I doubt whether there was ever so thoroughly accurate a translation of an important work into any language as we possess in the American Revision of the New Testament.

Some changes which have been made by correction either of the text or of the translation are surely very welcome. We are quite willing to learn that the superstitious story of the angel coming down and troubling the water of the pool of Bethesda is an interpolation. We are quite willing, in Peter's speech reported in the third chapter of Acts, to find him exhorting men to repent, not "when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord," but "that so there may come seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord." Thus, of two passages of Scripture with which men have perhaps half sincerely quieted their consciences in postponing the duty of a Christian life until some time of revival, it is interesting to find that one is an interpolation in the text and the other is a palpable error of translation. A new depth of insight into the principles of the divine government is given us when, in Mark 3.

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29, we read, "is guilty of an eternal sin," instead of the old reading, "is in danger of eternal damnation." Some changes required by critical scholarship are not quite so welcome. The story of the woman taken in adultery gives a strangely beautiful revelation of the character of Jesus, and we would like to believe that the story is true. Very likely, indeed, it is true, but I suppose it is substantially certain that it is no part of the Fourth Gospel. Some extreme trinitarians may regret the vanishing of the three heavenly witnesses from the text of 1 John 5. 7; but a phrase which appears in no manuscript earlier than the sixteenth century we may be sure is no part of the original text. Many of us rather miss the doxology with which the Lord's prayer closes; but the removal of that doxology from the New Testament need do us no harm, for we can use in our worship, so far as we see fit, the liturgical treasures of all ages.

The New Testament has been more changed to our apprehension by the higher criticism, the investigation of the date and the authorship of the respective books. In this respect there is, indeed, a very marked

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difference between the Old and the New Testament. Criticism has shown that the traditional opinions in regard to the date and authorship of the books of the Old Testament are mostly erroneous, while in regard to the New Testament a good share of the traditional opinions are exactly or approximately true. This difference we might reasonably have expected. The books of the New Testament, with one or two exceptions, were probably all written within the space of a few decades, and that in an age of comparatively high civilization. Under those conditions we might reasonably suppose that to a considerable extent tradition would hand down a true story as to the date and authorship of the books. Enough of the New Testament was produced within a few decades after the public ministry and teaching, the death and resurrection, of Jesus, to afford a material confirmation to our belief in the historic basis of Christianity. George John Romanes mentions as one of the causes of his loss of faith in Christianity the notion that the date and origin of its sacred books were so uncertain as to deprive them of all evidential

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value; and he gives as one of the grounds of his return to faith the conviction which he had reached that Paul's Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians are proved beyond reasonable doubt to be genuine, and that the Synoptic Gospels were certainly in possession of the churches before the close of the first century. The case of Romanes is typical of the intellectual life of the second half of the nineteenth century, not only in the fact of loss and recovery of faith, but in large degree in the reasons of that loss and recovery. If we can accept the four great Epistles of Paul as genuine, and the Synoptic Gospels as somewhat nearly contemporaneous narratives of the life and work of Jesus, that is enough to show that our conception of the life and character and teaching of Jesus is substantially the same as that of the primitive Christian Church.

While the acceptance of those seven books would give us enough of the New Testament for a basis of Christian faith, I believe that we may reasonably accept considerably more. I am not blind to the serious difficulties which the hypothesis of the Johan-

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nean authorship of the Fourth Gospel encounters; and yet each time I reexamine the question my mind returns to the belief that the Johannean authorship is, on the whole, more probable than any alternative theory. The resemblance in style of the discourses of Jesus reported in that Gospel to the writer's own style as shown in other parts of the Gospel and in the First Epistle, has rightly been attributed to the assimilation of the words of Jesus to the author's own habit of thought and expression. Yet I believe we must recognize an assimilation in the opposite direction. If the Fourth Gospel makes Jesus speak like John, it is no less true that, in the half-century in which John had been lovingly brooding over the memory of the Master's words, he had come unconsciously to think and to speak like Jesus. The question of the authorship of the Apocalypse is closely bound up with the question of the date of the book. If we can put it at the time of the Neronian persecution, it is not difficult to imagine the mind of one author passing in a quarter of a century through such changes as would render possible the production of two books

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so different, alike in type of thought and in mode of expression, as the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse. Especially might such a transformation be possible if, within that quarter-century, occurred the destruction of Jerusalem and the consequent emancipation of the mind of the church from the bonds of Judaism. It seems inconceivable that the same man could have written both books about the same time and in the same stage of his intellectual and spiritual development. I think we may reasonably regard all the Epistles which commonly bear the name of Paul as genuine, with, of course, the exception of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in regard to whose authorship we only know that the author was not Paul. The one book of the New Testament in regard to which it is substantially certain that it does not belong to the apostolic age is the so-called Second Epistle of Peter.

But there are still deeper questions than those relating to the date and authorship of the books. If there is a lower criticism and a higher criticism, there is also, if we may use the expression, a highest criticism. Our views have changed in regard to the general

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character of the books of the New Testament, the nature and scope of inspiration, and the degree in which we can predicate authority as inhering in the books.

Thirty-five years ago the New Testament and the Old alike were habitually treated by preachers and theologians as a mosaic of proof-texts. I remember, when I was admitted to this Conference, one of the requirements for orders as a local deacon was that the candidate should be able to state the doctrines of Christianity and to support each doctrine by proof-texts. The Discipline of those days advised the candidate to prepare for this examination by reading the Bible through in course, and marking the verses which could suitably be quoted in favor of any particular doctrine. Such a procedure, of course, was based upon the assumption that a sentence from Joshua or Esther was just as valid proof of Christian doctrine as a sentence from the Sermon on the Mount or from the farewell address of Jesus to his disciples. That nonsense we have happily left behind us. We have learned that the books of the Bible are to be interpreted on literary principles.

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To understand any book we must more or less fully ensphere ourselves in the mental atmosphere in which the book was produced.

We have learned that the writers of the New Testament were not amanuenses. We have learned to recognize the profound individuality of some of the leading writers, manifesting itself not only in the literary style, but also in the mode of thought. We have learned that the theology of the New Testament was a gradual development. Not only are there differences in thought as well as in expression between the different writers, but, in those cases in which with more or less probability we believe that we have writings of the same author at different periods, we find more or less indication of changes in opinion and in habit of thought. The most striking example of this is in the case of John, if it be true, as some still believe, that he was the author both of the Apocalypse and of the Fourth Gospel. It is no overstatement of the difference of tone between these two books to say that the Apocalypse is the most Jewish and the Fourth Gospel the least Jewish of all the books of the New Testament. The catas-

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trophic ending of earthly things, which is the dominant thought of the Apocalypse, gives place in the Gospel to a progressive spiritual judgment. The vindictive spirit of the Apocalypse gives place to that sweet spirit of love which glorifies every page of the Gospel. Incidentally, it may be noted that, in the interval between the composition of these two books, if they were written by the same author, he learned to write a Greek style which was grammatically correct. In 1 Cor. 7. 8 Paul distinctly advises widows not to remarry, while in 1 Timothy 5. 14 he as explicitly advises the younger widows to remarry. Obviously, the belief in the nearness of the Parousia, on which much of the advice in the seventh chapter of First Corinthians was based, Paul no longer held, when in the last years of his life he wrote the Pastoral Epistles.

We have learned that the inspiration of the New Testament writers was not like the ecstasy which seized upon the Delphian priestess when she seated herself on her tripod. That seventh chapter of First Corinthians affords a very instructive revelation of Paul's own conception of the in-

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spiration which he claimed. When he makes a distinction between some counsels which he gives on his own responsibility and others for which he claims the authority of the Lord Jesus, the distinction is not, as has sometimes been imagined, between the things which he said or wrote in a non-inspirational condition, and other things which he said or wrote in an inspirational condition. The things for which he claims the authority of the Lord Jesus are precisely the things in regard to which we have sayings of Jesus recorded in the Gospels. And when in the fortieth verse of that chapter he says, "I think that I also have the Spirit of God," he does not mean that he thinks he has the corroboration of divine inspiration for his opinions in addition to his own judgment, but, rather, that he, as well as other apostles and religious teachers, has the Spirit of God. Two things are manifest from this chapter in regard to Paul's conception of inspiration. Inspiration was not a mysterious experience which seized upon him when he sat down to write or dictate an epistle, but an abiding presence of the Divine Spirit, which guided all his conduct and ennobled his life;

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but no inspiration with which he or any other apostle might be endowed, raised its possessor to an equality with the Master. The contrast of less and greater authority in regard to the counsels of the chapter is not the contrast between Paul uninspired and Paul inspired, but between Paul inspired and the Lord Jesus.

Of course in this change in our general conception of the inspiration of the New Testament we have given up any idea of inerrancy. It is a great relief not to have to harmonize conflicting statements in the New Testament. If Matthew tells us that Jesus healed two blind men on leaving Jericho, Mark that he healed one blind man on leaving Jericho, and Luke that he healed one blind man on entering Jericho, we no longer feel bound to harmonize the three narratives by the assumption that he healed one blind man on entering and two on leaving Jericho. We are perfectly content to say that we do not care whether there was one blind man or two, and whether the healing was done on entering or on leaving Jericho. If the Synoptic Gospels appear to put the Passover on Thursday of the Passion Week, and

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John appears to put it on Friday of that week, we are perfectly at liberty to inquire which arrangement of the chronology is right, and which is wrong; and we do not feel bound to believe that both chronological schemes are infallibly true. We are no longer troubled by the very conspicuous references in Paul's earlier Epistles to his expectation of the Parousia as destined to come in his own lifetime. We do not feel bound to maintain the validity of Paul's argument from the singular number of the noun translated "seed" in Gal. 3. 16, but we feel ourselves perfectly at liberty to assent to the suggestion of Saint Jerome that Paul's argument was addressed to the "foolish Galatians," and was worthy of the persons to whom it was addressed. We are very willing to be relieved from the obligation of following Paul, when he asserts that women are to be in eternal subjection because, according to the Eden story, Adam was first formed, then Eve, and the woman was created for the man.

But we must recognize clearly that the effect of the abandonment of the notion of inerrancy cannot be limited to historical de-

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tails and opinions outside of the realm of theological dogma. We can predicate no inerrancy for the theological opinions of the New Testament writers.

The kenosis theory of the person of Christ owes its name, and probably in considerable part the conception which the name represents, to Paul's words in Phil. 2. 6, 7: "Who, existing in the form of God, counted not the being on an equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied (*ἐκένωσεν*) himself, taking the form of a servant, coming to be in the likeness of men." Now, if Paul was inerrant in his views of theological dogma, we must accept as true whatever he meant to teach by that word *ἐκένωσεν*, however difficult it may be for us to enter into his conception, and however difficult it may be to harmonize that conception with other New Testament representations of the nature of Christ, as, for instance, with the "reflection" (*ἀπαύγασμα*) of God's glory and the "impress" (*χαρακτήρ*) of his substance in Heb. 1. 3. But, if Paul's philosophy of Christianity was only that of a man possessed of lofty spiritual insight, we are at liberty, whatever Paul may have meant to

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say, to have our own opinion as to the possibility of an omniscient Being divesting himself of omniscience by an act of volition, as is assumed in the kenosis theory.

We must come to recognize that a theological science has no more been revealed by inerrant inspiration than a geological or astronomical science. Theology in every age is a human attempt to formulate divine truth. The theologies of Paul and John and other New Testament writers are no exception.

Obviously, the church must be content with less definite creeds. With no inerrant dogmatic theology, there is no place for dogmatism. The truth will remain that "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself," but the mystery of that divine indwelling in Jesus has never been formulated in any inerrant theology. And we must recognize as merely tentative any formulation which we can make to-day. Whittier's hymn, "Our Master," speaks to the heart of this age as the Athanasian Creed fails to speak.

God's revelation has come, primarily, not through a book, but through life—most of

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all through the transcendent life of Jesus. "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son." The church was living and growing for fifty or sixty years before the greatest book of the New Testament was written, and much longer before the books supposed to be of apostolic authority were gathered into a canon. I suspect that Paul and John would have been astonished to find letters of personal friendship to Philemon and Gaius and the elect lady, whoever she may have been, included in the canon of authoritative Scripture. Even Paul's great Epistles to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans were written as tracts for the times, with no thought of writing a message to the church in distant centuries. Truly, he builded better than he knew, for in those epistles was the inspiration of a Lutheran Reformation and a Wesleyan Revival.

The revelation of Christianity was in Christ himself—his life and teaching, his miracles, his death and resurrection, his character. No speech that he uttered may

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have been reported with absolute accuracy. As he probably spoke in Aramaic and our record of his words is in Greek, the representation of his thought which we possess must be at the best imperfect. Legendary elements have mingled undoubtedly in greater or less degree in the traditions preserved to us in the Gospels. And not all the opinions about Christ which were held and taught by the apostles and their companions may be true. Yet we can have a reasonable confidence that the New Testament presents to us in its main outline a veracious picture of the life and character and teaching of Jesus.

When all extravagant claims based on traditional doctrines of inspiration are abandoned, is it not true that we know Jesus to-day better than his contemporaries could know him? Each Gospel and each Epistle throws upon the theme some rays of colored light. To-day, more fully than at any former period, we can blend those colored lights into the white light of truth. Ethical and religious conceptions which were too novel for the contemporaries of Jesus to understand, are intelligible in that intellec-

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tual atmosphere which he has created. Nineteen centuries of Christendom form an illuminating commentary on the life and words of Jesus.

In the New Testament, then, we see and hear Jesus. We know his sinless life. We see him as he went about doing good. We hear the oft-repeated motto in which he expressed the spirit of his own life, that life is found only in losing life. In the supreme glory of self-sacrifice he stands a unique figure before the world. We hear from his lips the expression of infinite hate of sin and infinite love of the sinner, in tones in which the thunder of divine wrath blends in sweet accord with the wail of infinite pity. And we behold his life re-incarnating itself in his disciples. We behold the divine life conquering Jewish bigotry and heathen immorality, lifting men above the vices of paganism and of slavery, working in them the sacred hunger for righteousness, founding in individual souls the kingdom of heaven, till the individual Christian life multiplies itself into the composite life of a Christian civilization.

I have said I know not what will be the

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ultimate New Testament. I do not know what will be the last word on the question whether John 1. 18 should read, "only-begotten Son," or "only-begotten God." I know not what will be the final conclusion in regard to the authorship of Hebrews or Second Peter, or of the Johannean writings and some of the minor epistles commonly attributed to Paul; I know not what will be the final form of opinion in regard to the sources and development of the Synoptic Gospels. I know not into what shape the reverent thought of future ages will cast the old doctrines of incarnation and atonement. But of this I feel sure, that to all the ages the New Testament will be the canvas on which the world will behold the lineaments of that face of Jesus,

"Most human and yet most divine,
The flower of man and God!"

And, so long as that face beams upon humanity, the words to Philip will find perpetual fulfillment, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father."

VI

**THE SABBATH AND THE LORD'S
DAY**

VI

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"In it thou shalt not do any work."—*Exodus* 20. 10.

"I was in the Spirit on the Lord's Day."—*Revelation* 1. 10.

OF these two texts, one stands almost at the beginning, the other very near the end, in the traditional arrangement of the canon of the Old and the New Testament. The two texts are yet more remote in spirit than in their places in the canon of Scripture. One speaks of an outward, the other of an inward life. One is essentially Jewish, the other is characteristically Christian. One speaks of a shadow that was destined to vanish away, the other tells us of the age-long heritage of the Christian Church.

We have no clear evidence in Scripture of the observance of a Sabbath before the time of Moses. Very likely the observance

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of the Sabbath among the ancestors of the Jewish people may go back to an earlier date. There are indications that the Babylonians had a Sabbath, and the possibility is suggested that Hebrews and Babylonians inherited the institution from a common source. Human divisions of time are, in general, founded upon the apparent movements of the sun and the moon. For many purposes it is convenient to recognize a period of time longer than the solar day and shorter than the lunar month. Nothing is so natural or convenient for the fulfillment of that need as the division of the lunar month into halves and quarters. The recognition of a week as a division of time shows itself very widely among the different races of men.

It is probable that the Sabbath as set forth in the Old Testament goes back at least to the time of Moses. The Sabbath precept, as given in *Exod. 34. 21*, is supposed to belong to the earliest of the Pentateuchal documents, the Jahvistic narrative. The Decalogue, as given in *Exod. 20*, is referred to the Elohist narrative, a century later. It is, however, believed that the earliest form

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of the Decalogue was short and simple, the reasons given for several of the precepts having been added by later editors. In the Deuteronomic form of the Decalogue there is no reference to the notion of a divine rest at the close of the creative week, such as appears in the form given in Exodus, but the Sabbath rest is regarded as a celebration of the deliverance wrought by God for the Israelites from the bondage which they suffered in Egypt. The noble psalm of creation which is preserved to us in the first chapter of Genesis divides the creative work into six stages followed by a period of rest. That poetic arrangement of the creative work was undoubtedly suggested by the existence of the institution of the Sabbath prior to the date of the psalm. In Exod. 31. 17 the divine rest appears in a form more grossly anthropomorphic, "He rested and was refreshed." The idea of God needing rest like a tired workman and finding refreshment in it contrasts startlingly with the majestic utterance of Jesus, "My Father worketh hitherto."

The Jewish Sabbath was indeed a day of restraint, and yet it was a day of joy. The

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characteristic idea of the day was freedom from grinding toil, and consequently opportunity for social enjoyment. Jesus accepted an invitation to a feast in a Pharisee's house on the Sabbath; and the idea of a social feast was alike in accord with the principles of the Pharisees and with those of Jesus himself. Even the fussiest and most ridiculous of Pharisaic prohibitions in regard to the Sabbath, such as the exact prescription how great a distance one might walk, and what articles might be carried, on the Sabbath, had for their real significance the requirement that nothing in the nature of servile toil should enter into the employments of the day. In contrast with the memory of Egyptian bondage, and in contrast with the severe toil which was then and always has been the lot of the poor on working days, the Sabbath was to be for every Israelite a day of emancipation from the burden of work.

While Jesus treated with fit contempt the hedge of fussy traditions which Pharisaism had planted around the Sabbath precept, as around all other precepts of the law, it seems to be the fact that Jesus observed the Sab-

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bath in his own conduct according to its true spirit. In the Codex Bezae, a manuscript of the New Testament dating probably from the fifth or sixth century, there is a strange interpolation in the sixth chapter of Luke: "On the same day, seeing some one working on the Sabbath, He said to him, 'Man, if thou knowest what thou doest thou art blessed, but if thou knowest not what thou doest thou art cursed and a transgressor of the law.'" The words certainly have no claim to be considered an authentic part of the Gospel of Luke. They may or may not be founded upon the memory of some actual utterance of Jesus, in which he intimated that the form of Sabbath observance would pass away when the ancient law should find in him its fulfillment.

After the ascension Jewish Christians retained for a time the observance of the Sabbath, as they retained other Jewish observances. To some extent Gentile Christians imitated their Jewish brethren in this as in some other Jewish customs. The observance of the Sabbath on the part of Gentile Christians is severely rebuked by Paul in Gal. 4. 10: "Ye observe days, and months,

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and seasons, and years." In the preceding verse he reproaches them for turning back "to the weak and beggarly rudiments, whereunto ye desire to be in bondage." In Col. 2. 16, he says, "Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a feast day or a new moon or a Sabbath day: which are a shadow of the things to come." The words clearly mean that the Gentile Christian should observe the Sabbath no more than the whole program of Jewish feasts and fasts. In writing to the church in Rome, which was composed in part of Gentile and in part of Jewish Christians, Paul says, "One man esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day alike." He apparently expected that the Jewish Christians would continue for the time being to observe the Sabbath, but that the Gentile Christians would not adopt the observance.

Meanwhile, a new and distinctively Christian festival was growing up in the Christian Church. We have no definite information in regard to the origin of the new custom, but the indications of its observance begin to appear early in the apostolic age. It was

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on the first day of the week that Paul spoke to the Christians at Troas, assembled on the eve of his departure for Jerusalem. He exhorts the Corinthian Christians to make contributions periodically on the first day of the week to relieve the poverty of the church at Jerusalem. We can hardly fail to recognize the indication that the first day of the week was already established as a time of periodical meetings of the church. In the second century we have abundant evidence of the habitual observance of the first day of the week as the time of periodical assemblies of the Christians for worship. Apparently, the name, "the Lord's Day," which is the designation used in the text that we have taken from Revelation, becomes the prevalent name. Justin Martyr refers to the observance of that day by the Christians, and associates it with the story of the creation of light on the first day according to the first chapter of Genesis, and with the resurrection of Jesus; he makes no reference to the divine rest on the seventh day. True to the spirit of the early church is the expression of the significance of the Lord's Day in one of the noblest of our hymns:

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"On thee, at the creation,
The light first had its birth;
On thee, for our salvation,
Christ rose from depths of earth;
On thee, our Lord, victorious,
The Spirit sent from heaven;
And thus on thee, most glorious,
A triple light was given."

In Pliny's famous letter to Trajan, asking for instructions how to deal with the Christians, he refers to their habit of meeting on a stated day for worship.

We have no record of any action of the apostles collectively or of any individual apostle enjoining upon the brethren the observance of the Lord's Day. It seems to have been a spontaneous movement of the church thus to celebrate the day on which the Lord Jesus by his own resurrection "abolished death and brought life and immortality to light."

The Lord's Day, then, in its original conception, was essentially a day of worship. It was the day in which the Christians proposed to celebrate that great fact of the resurrection upon which the church was founded, and to draw perpetual inspiration from that ever blessed memory. In the

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early years the Lord's Day could not be a day of rest. Many of the Christians were slaves, and they had to work when they were bidden by their masters. Living as they did in Jewish or pagan communities, it was impossible for them so far to control their life in relation to other people as to keep the day free from the ordinary duties of life. When Christianity became the dominant religion of the Roman empire, the Christians showed a disposition to have ordinary forms of duty suspended so far as was practicable, in order that they might have leisure for the worship to which they wished to devote the day. One of the first Sunday laws, promulgated in the reign of Constantine, provided that the courts of justice should be closed on the first day of the week excepting for two items of business; one was the manumission of the slave from the power of his master, the other was the emancipation of the son who had become of age from the authority of his father, and his investiture with the rights of manhood. The exceptions are as significant as the prohibition. For all other business the courts must be closed, but no day was too sacred to celebrate the investiture of a

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man with the rights and dignities of manhood.

The institution of the Lord's Day, then, is no mere change of date of the Sabbath. The whole spirit of the institution is absolutely distinct. If the Sabbath was primarily a day of rest, the Lord's Day is primarily a day of worship. If the Sabbath reminded the Israelite of his deliverance from the bondage of Egypt, the Lord's Day is to the Christian the perpetual memorial of life and immortality brought to light through the resurrection of Jesus. For the Christian, then, the obligation of a Sabbath in the spirit of the Old Testament is done away forever. The Christian is no more called upon to observe the Sabbath than to practice sacrifice or circumcision. The phrase, "Christian Sabbath," which has often been applied to the Lord's Day in recent times, originated in a misconception, and is unknown in Christian literature before the twelfth century.

To the early Christians the Lord's Day was the one great characteristic festival. They met on that day for worship, and, so far as was practicable, they kept the day

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clear from ordinary occupations, that their private and social worship, their grateful commemoration of that day on which hope was born, might be free from distraction. In later Romanism the conception of the Lord's Day underwent some changes. In the multiplication of holy days which characterized the elaborate ritual of later Romanism, the Lord's Day lost somewhat of its unique significance. Moreover, in the general Judaizing tendency which developed in later Romanism, it is not strange that the Lord's Day came to be confounded with the Jewish Sabbath. While there was an effort to make the observance of the Lord's Day in some respects more strict by importing into it Jewish prohibitions, the general tendency, in a church whose growing formality was in large degree smothering the old fire of Christian spirit, was to make the day a holiday rather than a holy day.

In the beginning of the Reformation there was naturally a tendency to restore the Lord's Day to something like its original primacy as the one sacred day of Christianity. And the early reformers—Calvin and Knox, no less than Luther—were true

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to the spirit of the early church in sharply distinguishing the Lord's Day from the Sabbath, and recognizing the Sabbath as a Jewish institution which had passed away. The Lutheran reformation, however, failed to redeem the church from the vicious practice which had grown up under Romanism, of making the Lord's Day a holiday rather than a holy day. The characteristics which we have been accustomed to associate with the phrase, "Continental Sunday," are much the same even to this day in countries predominantly Lutheran as in those which are predominantly Catholic.

In contrast with Lutheranism, English Puritanism made a most vigorous protest against degrading the Lord's Day to the character of a holiday. Unhappily, this movement of the English Puritans, so commendable in spirit, was vitiated by being based on a false principle. The Lord's Day, in Puritan thought, was identical with the Sabbath, and was most commonly spoken of by that name. The Westminster Confession declares that God "hath particularly appointed one day in seven for a Sabbath, to be kept holy unto him; which, from the be-

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ginning of the world to the Resurrection of Christ, was the last day of the week; and from the Resurrection of Christ was changed into the first day of the week, which in Scripture is called the Lord's Day, and is to be continued to the end of the world as the Christian Sabbath." It is noteworthy that no other of the great historic creeds of Christendom enunciates such a doctrine. The prohibition of work was interpreted by the Puritans as strictly as it had been by the Jews. But while the Jewish Sabbath, strict in prohibition of work, allowed freely social enjoyment, the Puritan Sabbath of England and Scotland and New England forbade not only work but also all social enjoyment. The Westminster Confession declares that those who keep the Sabbath, "do not only observe an holy rest all the day from their own works, words, and thoughts about their worldly employments and recreations; but are also taken up the whole time in public and private exercises of his worship, and in the duties of necessity and mercy." The Puritan Sabbath gained accordingly an austerity which was as unlike the Jewish Sabbath as it was unlike the

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Lord's Day of the primitive Christians or of the Lutheran Reformation. The Puritan Sabbath was, in fact, one of the worst expressions of the morbid solemnity of Puritan character.

For better or for worse, the Puritan Sabbath is dead. For that we may be thankful. It was false in principle, and it so utterly violated human nature as to make inevitable a disastrous reaction. The Puritan Sabbath is gone; what is to take its place? Shall it be the Continental Sunday, with churches empty and theaters and beer gardens full, a day with rather less of work than other days and with much more of uproarious amusement?

It is not easy to decide exactly what we ought to do. The application of ethical principles in practice must always depend largely upon questions of degree, questions of less or more. All human conduct must be more or less of a compromise. But the first step to right practice is a true principle. What we wish to maintain is, not the Puritan Sabbath nor the Jewish Sabbath, but the Lord's Day; and we would maintain that day in the spirit of those early Chris-

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tians who rejoiced in the new life which had come to them from the Lord's resurrection.

There is, indeed, a moral element beneath the Jewish form of the fourth commandment. The moral element of the fourth commandment is the principle of the necessity of special times for worship, private and social, which, but for specially consecrated times, would be crowded out by the pressure of work and amusement. And, while there is a moral value in the suspension of ordinary work to give opportunity for worship, I do not fail to appreciate the hygienic value of a day of rest or change of employment. But, while there is an undeniable moral and hygienic value in the suspension of all ordinary work on Sunday, so far as practicable, it is perfectly obvious that a formal and rigid prohibition of all work on that day must be recognized as obsolete. Is it a sin on Sunday to engage in physical or mental labor, to buy and sell, to study, to travel? No! But it is a sin on Sunday to do anything unnecessary which will tend to forfeit for ourselves or to impair for others the blessing which the Lord's Day, rightly used, may bring to the Christian world to-day as in

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all the Christian centuries. When we ask if it is wrong to do this, that, or the other particular thing on Sunday, we are asking a question whose spirit is essentially Pharisaic rather than Christian. The right question for us to ask is, What conduct on our part will make the most of the day in spiritual blessing to ourselves and to others?

Starting from this principle, of course, we cannot forbid all work. If we forbid all works but those of necessity and mercy, we must give the words "necessity" and "mercy" a great deal broader meaning than they had to the Puritan. All work which the general welfare and convenience of society requires, is right in Christian ethics, and should be lawful in a Christian community. The more complicated organization of society, and the more minute division of labor, characteristic of our modern life, tend in some ways to diminish the amount of Sunday labor which is necessary. But, unhappily, those conditions concentrate the necessity for Sunday labor in the case of particular classes. In Puritan times the Christian farmer hitched up his family horse and drove his family to church. Few families

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to-day possess a family horse. The horses of the community are largely kept in livery stables; and to a large extent the horse as a means of travel is superseded by the forces of steam and electricity. The means of rapid travel and communication bring us into intimate relation with people whose homes are distant from our own. These changes illustrate the general principle that the necessity of a large number of people doing a small amount of work on Sunday, has in great degree given place to the necessity of a small number of people doing a large amount of work on Sunday. Of course railroad trains must run, mails must be carried, and the telegraph and telephone must afford opportunity for communication, on the Lord's Day. The question whether public libraries and museums should be open at certain hours on Sunday, is not to be answered by any prohibition of the Decalogue, but must be answered by a conscientious endeavor to estimate the effect of such opening upon the general life of the community.

Of course it would be folly to seek to make men religious by legislation. But a predominantly Christian community has the

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right to maintain legislation which will protect public worship from unnecessary interruption and interference. The day which the dominant religious sentiment of the community holds sacred we have the right to protect from unnecessary secularization. It is reasonable, therefore, that public offices should be closed. Shops and places of business may reasonably be required to be closed on Sunday, with the exception of places for the sale of medicines, food, and various other articles which it is necessary or convenient to have accessible every day. Of course amusements of purely amateur character should not be forbidden, but should be subject to such regulation as regards time and place as to avoid any serious interference with the quiet and order of public worship. The danger of transforming our Sunday into a wide open Continental Sunday comes from the pecuniary interests which can make a gain by the complete secularization of the day. I think we are justified in maintaining a prohibition of public amusements of every kind conducted for the purpose of making money, whether by the collection of an admission fee or by some other device.

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The prohibition of commercialized amusements and the judicious regulation of amateur recreations is probably the best policy for the present.¹ In most of the States of this part of the country there are old Sunday laws on the statute books which have come down with little change from the days of the Puritans. These laws are in general more stringent than is justified by sound principle or wise policy. But it is a difficult problem to modify them without running the risk of excessive license. The interests that clamor for a wide open Sunday are not in general those that are most beneficial to the community.

As I have already remarked, an inevitable consequence of the growing complexity of society and the increasing division of labor is that a large amount of Sunday work on the part of certain classes of the community is necessary. The conscientious employer of labor of any of those kinds that must be done on Sunday will surely feel bound to

¹The laws which have been recently passed in New York and Connecticut, and the similar legislation which is at present advocated in other states, opening the door to commercialized amusements, seem to me unnecessary and unwise. Such legislation, I fear, will prove to be a long step in the direction of the Continental Sunday.

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arrange the program of work in such wise that every employee will be free for some considerable part of the Sunday or free on some Sundays.

A question which for most of us is more practical than the question of Sunday legislation or the question of guarding the laboring classes from the complete loss of the privileges of Sunday, is the question of the proper use of the day by Christian men and women whose time is in a considerable degree at their own disposal. What are we to do with the Sunday if we have the good fortune to be so situated that we can do in general what we please?

Of course we shall go to church. The Lord's Day was the day of social worship from the time of its origin. It was the necessity of a time consecrated to public worship that developed the Lord's Day into an institution. Social worship is now as always the characteristic feature of the day. A half-century ago there was doubtless among the more earnest members of the churches an excessive amount of going to church. There can be little doubt that the pendulum has swung too far in the opposite direction.

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Even church members in general take too little time for attendance upon public worship. In all the ages of Christianity the public preaching of the word has been one of the most important means of grace; and the value of the sermon is not, as most people in our time seem to think, in inverse ratio to its length. It is worth while to take time for public presentation, exposition, and defense of the great truths of Christianity. But we do not go to church simply to hear a sermon. There is inspiration in prayer and hymn. There is immense utility in the cultivation of Christian fellowship.

We shall study the Bible in our homes and in Sunday schools and other assemblies of that sort. The lack of knowledge and appreciation of the Bible is one of the weaknesses of the church to-day. Every Christian is bound to be in greater or less degree a student of the Bible. I do not think, however, that we shall make our reading on Sunday exclusively religious in the narrower and more technical sense of that term. We shall read good literature which is morally inspiring. We shall not spend the Sunday hours over the yellow journals

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and the sporting columns of the Sunday newspapers. The Christian student in school or college will not take the Sunday to learn the lessons which he ought to have learned on Saturday. He will find an immense benefit, not only in a strictly religious point of view but also in the maintenance of mental freshness and physical health, in taking the opportunity on Sunday for reading which is considerably different from that which engages his attention on the other days of the week. In general, we shall not make the Sunday a waste-basket, into which we can throw all trivial odds and ends of work which we have neglected during the week.

The Sunday will be to us a home day. Families will be able to be together and to get acquainted with each other on Sunday in a degree which is impossible in the rush and turmoil of the business of the week. If we are absent from home and kindred, one of the fit employments of the day will be the writing of letters to the home friends. The cultivation of those domestic affections which make a large part of the blessedness of human life may well be one of the characteris-

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tic employments of the day. We shall take some time to visit the sick and those who are shut in, and minister to them somewhat of sympathy and comfort.

To some extent the Sunday will be for us a day of recreation. We shall choose recreations of a quiet and unobtrusive sort. We shall get out of doors, walking in the open fields if we live in the country, walking in parks and similar places if we are compelled to live in the city, taking into our souls the healing ministry of nature. But we shall avoid those recreations which are obtrusive, and those whose practice on our part would tend to encourage others to make Sunday merely a day of amusement. There is nothing sinful *per se* in moving from place to place on Sunday in any kind of vehicle or with any means of propulsion; but a bicycle scorching along the highway with the costume of the wearer reduced to the lowest terms consistent with the requirements of decency, or an automobile rushing along at a speed of sixty miles an hour and burying unhappy pedestrians beneath its clouds of dust, is not suggestive of the holy calm and peacefulness which befit the Lord's Day. I

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am disposed to be very charitable in regard to the amusements which are used on Sunday by those working people who are closely confined all the week. For the ostentatious amusements of the rich who can take leisure whenever they choose, I have far less of toleration. The demands of the managers of commercialized amusements, which threaten the complete secularization of the Sunday, derive much of their plausibility from the costly and conspicuous amusements of the rich.

Of course we can lay down no hard and fast regulations for the proper use of Sunday. There must be charity for wide difference of opinion and practice. Only in all our thinking and all our acting let us hold fast to the true principle. The purpose of the day is to gain for ourselves and to help others to gain all the inspiration that we can from the blessed memory of life and immortality brought to light by Christ Jesus. Let us make the most of the day for those holy purposes. Business and other daily cares will be kept, so far as may be, out of our thoughts, not because those things are sinful, but because we have no time for them.

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We are too busy with the employments which specially befit the day.

I have said that the Sabbath was a shadow which has passed away, while the Lord's Day abides. And yet, if we take a long look into the future, the Lord's Day itself becomes a shadow which will pass away. The perfect life needs no set time of worship, for all activity is instinct with the spirit of worship. John saw no temple in the New Jerusalem. There is no need of sacred places when all places are sacred, and the soul is conscious of the divine presence everywhere. There is no need of holy times when all time is holy. The church and the Lord's Day will serve their purpose in our earthly life, if they help to fit us for that heavenly life in which the church and the Lord's Day will no more be needed.

VII

METHODISM IN NEW ENGLAND

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THIRTY years ago the edifice in which we meet to-day was erected. One hundred years ago this church was organized. One hundred and twenty-five years ago the Middlefield Circuit was organized, including appointments for preaching in Middletown and other towns in the vicinity. One hundred and fifty years ago the work of Methodism in the northern colonies of England in America had its beginning. I have been asked to deliver a historical address appropriate to this composite celebration. What shall be my theme?

When the invitation came to me, my thoughts turned first to this local church. Fifty-five years ago I joined this church by certificate from my home church, when I entered college; and for all that time excepting three years I have been connected with this church and more or less active in its

¹ Address at the Centennial Celebration of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Middletown, Connecticut, 1916.

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work. My license to preach was signed by Heman Bangs as presiding elder, who had been pastor of this church in 1827. I have been personally acquainted more or less intimately with every pastor that this church has had since 1849. Amid the throng of personal reminiscences which this anniversary suggests I thought of speaking of this local church and of the men and women that I have known and loved. Altogether apart from my personal feelings and experiences, this local church is one whose history is full of interest. It is one of the historic churches of Methodism. Among those who have been its pastors were four college professors and three college presidents. One of its pastors was the leading man on the committee that prepared the Methodist hymnbook of 1849, which was the first hymnal of the church that possessed in some degree the character of catholicity, instead of being mostly a collection of the hymns of the Wesley brothers. One of its pastors was a member of the committee which prepared the much better hymnal of 1878, the last hymnal adopted by the church before the one which we now use. Two of the lay members of this church

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bore a share in the preparation of the latest and best of our hymnals. One of its pastors was editor of *The Christian Advocate*; one was, and one now is, editor of the *Methodist Review*; one was, and one now is, a missionary secretary; and one is now a bishop. A goodly number of the most eminent men of Methodism have preached either in the present church or in the one which preceded it. In the former church were often heard the voices of those two illustrious men, presidents of Wesleyan University in the early days, Willbur Fisk and Stephen Olin.

However interesting might be the memories of this local church, on second thought it seemed to me that the time of this service could be used most profitably in bringing before you the general theme of the work of Methodism in New England.

The Wesleyan movement in England was purely evangelistic. The last thing that Wesley dreamed of was the foundation of a new sect. He lived and died a presbyter of the Church of England, and his mission was chiefly to men who recognized some sort of allegiance to that church. He sought to

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awaken to a genuine Christian life men who were already nominal adherents of the same church to which he himself belonged. Comparatively little emphasis was placed on dogma. The Wesleys were Arminian in their theology: Whitefield was a Calvinist. But the Wesleys and Whitefield were alike orthodox ministers of the Anglican Church. In that communion Arminianism and Calvinism have always existed side by side, and have been reckoned equally orthodox.

In the southern colonies of America the role of Methodism was in the beginning very much the same as in England. Before the Revolution the Anglican Church was the dominant ecclesiastical organization in those southern colonies. There, as in England, Methodist preachers sought no change in the ecclesiastical relation of the people to whom they ministered. Anglicans themselves, they appealed to Anglicans for a deeper and more earnest religious life.

When Methodism entered New England, the situation was entirely different. Then, as always, the spirit of Methodism was evangelistic; but the Christmas Conference in 1884 had brought into being a new religious

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denomination, the Methodist Episcopal Church. Methodism in America no longer represented a revival in the Anglican Church; Methodism in America had become a distinct sect. When Jesse Lee invaded New England he came into a country where there was no lack of churches and pastors, but those churches and pastors were not Anglican but Congregational. Congregationalism was the established church of New England. When people were awakened and converted by the influence of Methodist evangelists, the event generally involved a change in their ecclesiastical relations. The convert became generally a proselyte. When, in 1791, Bishop Asbury made his first visit to New England after a tour through the comparatively sparsely settled districts of the Carolinas and Georgia, he wrote in his diary:

“We are now in Connecticut, and never out of sight of a house; and sometimes we have a view of many churches and steeples, built very neatly of wood; either for use, ornament, piety, policy, or interest—or it may be some of all these. I do feel as if there had been religion in this country once; and I apprehend there is a little in form

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and theory left. There may have been a praying ministry and people here; but I fear they are now spiritually dead."

There was undoubtedly in New England a great deal more of genuine religion than Asbury supposed. The churches in every village were not only evidences of religion in the past, but were the shrines of a religion which still survived. But while Asbury was doubtless unjust to the New England churches, there was altogether too much in the condition of those churches which gave countenance to his severe judgment. There was in the Congregational churches of New England much of the formalism which is very apt to exist in an established church of whatever name or creed. The great revival of 1740 had long since spent its force. Ministers and people alike too often maintained the form of religious worship with very little of genuine spiritual life. The stern and repellent creed of Calvinism had provoked inevitable revolt, not only in the mild form which had given rise to the Unitarian and Universalist churches, but in the more radical form of avowed rejection of Christianity. Our country owes indeed very

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much to the help of the French army in the Revolutionary War; but the presence of the French in America was in one respect an evil influence. The free-thinking officers who abounded in the French army had made infidelity respectable and popular. The established church of New England had largely lost its influence on the young mind of the country. In 1795 it is said that only eleven students in Yale College acknowledged themselves as Christians, and four years later the number was reduced to four or five. There was need of a new preaching with evangelistic power and without the encumbrance of a Calvinistic creed. I heard a friend and a brother in the ministry declare in a Methodist assembly only a few years ago, that he believed there was no village so small or already occupied by so many churches that there was no room for a Methodist church. I was astonished to hear an utterance that seemed so anachronistic. But however unreasonable such a proposition may seem in our time, it was the view which was held by the Methodist invaders a century and a quarter ago. They were doubtless some-

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what uncharitable, but their belief was probably not very far from the truth.

Methodism in New England was, then, from the beginning, a denominational movement and a movement on definite theological lines. In the Holy Club of Oxford there were both Arminians and Calvinists, but Methodism in America was always Arminian. Calvinistic Methodism never made any appreciable impression upon the religious life of America. In New England the Methodist invasion was the beginning of a conflict between Arminian Methodism and Calvinistic Congregationalism. The controversy which was once so intensely acrimonious on both sides we can contemplate now very calmly. We recognize to-day a truth in Calvinism and a truth in Arminianism, though we may frankly confess ourselves unable to coordinate those two truths. We are no nearer a settlement of the great problem than Milton's fallen angels who

“ . . . Apart sat on a hill retired,
In thoughts more elevate, and reasoned high
Of Providence, Foreknowledge, Will, and Fate—
Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute—
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.”

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We all believe in the freedom of the will. Our mental attitude is that expressed in the saying of Doctor Samuel Johnson—"I know I am free, and that is the end of it." But we do not believe that God suddenly found himself disappointed when Adam ate the forbidden fruit, and considered what scheme he could adopt to save as much as possible out of the wreck of the moral universe. I think we are bound to recognize to-day that the logical victory in the controversy was with the Calvinists, but that their opponents had the practical truth. No theological system was ever so logical as extreme supralapsarian Calvinism, but it was the most abhorrent system of theology ever invented. It was abominably logical. I think the Calvinists had the advantage not only in logic, but also in exegesis. Paul the apostle inherited a good deal of his theology from Saul the Pharisee, and I think there is no reasonable doubt that the Epistle to the Romans does teach the doctrine of foreordination. But Arminianism is a good working theology. The unsolvable problems are shoved into a dark corner where ordinary common-sense people cannot see

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them. To those Methodist preachers of a hundred years ago, Arminianism appeared to be a complete solution of the relations between the divine and the human will. We who know that the problems involved are essentially insoluble, transcending the power of human thought, accept the Arminian creed as a pragmatic conception which serves well as a basis for practical Christian life.

New England Calvinism a hundred and fifty years ago was not exactly the same as the Calvinism of Calvin. Calvin, I suppose, felt as sure of his own election as he was of the reprobation of Servetus; but New England Calvinists held that the assurance of faith was the privilege only of a few eminently gifted saints. The attitude of New England Calvinists in regard to personal religious experience was not unfairly represented in the version of their creed which passed current among their Methodist opponents: "If you seek religion, you cannot find it. If you get it, you cannot know it. If you have it, you can never lose it. If you lose it, you never had it." Such a creed leads all too easily to practical indif-

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ference and formality. I yield to no one in admiration for the splendid saints of New England Calvinism—for the men who were willing to be damned to eternal misery if their damnation might be for the glory of God, as brave soldiers are willing to fill with their dead bodies the moat across which their comrades must march to victory. But comparatively few people are of sufficiently heroic mold to find satisfaction in a religious life under those conditions. A gospel that appealed far more powerfully to the average man was that of the Methodists, with their doggerel rhymes,

“But this I do find—
We two are so joined,
He'll not stay in heaven
And leave me behind.”

Certainly the Arminian style of religious experience, if it has less of sublime austerity, appeals more strongly to the common sense of the average man.

The Calvinistic controversy is now matter of history. The Congregational and Methodist Churches of New England, working side by side, have experienced in large degree a mutual conversion. There is prac-

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tically now no difference in their theology. Members, and even ministers, are transferred back and forth between those two denominations without making or professing any change whatever in their theological beliefs. There is practically no difference in the conduct of the ordinary church services. A stranger who strayed into one of the churches for a Sunday service would usually hear nothing whatever which would show him whether it was a Methodist or a Congregational church. In practice the principal difference is that in the Methodist church pastors are annually appointed by the bishop, while the Congregationalist churches make the arrangement for themselves. Our arrangement has the great practical advantage that every church has a pastor and every minister has a church. There is no long interregnum between successive pastoral terms. In many cases, however, even this difference is only formal, the bishop simply ratifying an arrangement which has been already made. In Canada a movement is in progress, and seems likely at no distant date to be successful, to unite the Methodist and Congregationalist

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Churches in one organization. It would require very little change to unite the Methodist and Congregationalist Churches in New England.

The hundred years have brought in many respects great changes to New England Methodism. We no longer worship in barns, or in obtrusively ugly churches differentiated from barns chiefly by the rudiment of a steeple. Many of our churches are large and costly; some of them are beautiful. Our services have come to be more elegantly arranged. With our present truly catholic hymnal, we sing the best hymns of the church universal, the hymns of all ages, of all lands, and of all creeds. We sing those hymns to tunes of more artistic character. Our ministers, instead of being, like most of the early Methodist preachers, taken from the plow or the shoemaker's bench, are educated in college and theological school, and in many cases have had the cosmopolitan culture of travel and study in foreign lands. Their preaching is far more scholarly than that of the early days; our spirit as a church is more tolerant; our theology is more rational.

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But what has become of the evangelism which was the inspiration and the justification of early Methodism? Jesse Lee and others of the early Methodist preachers in New England looked upon New England as missionary ground. Every sermon was evangelistic; every sermon was a definite call to repentance from sin, and to the beginning of a Christian life. While all the services were evangelistic, seasons of special revival were frequent, and in those revivals large numbers of converts were added to the churches. In the history of this church from its beginning in 1816 to 1857, inclusive, the Annual Minutes of the Conference record eight times a net increase of fifty or more in its membership. Only once since 1857 has a net increase of fifty members in one year been recorded. In the section of the Discipline specifying the tests by which the fitness of a candidate for the ministry should be judged, appears in the earlier editions the question, "Are any truly convinced of sin and converted to God by their preaching?" Not until 1880 was the clause inserted, "And are believers edified?" Of course the change in the Discipline followed

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a change in practice which had been in progress for a long time. The church had gradually come to recognize the edification of believers as a legitimate and important aim of the work of preaching. At present there is plenty of edification in the preaching; but sinners are not called to repentance, and there are no sinners in the congregation to be called. Our prayer meetings have undergone a corresponding change. Some of us, whose scanty hair shows the frosts of three-score winters or more, remember a time when strangers used to come into a Methodist prayer meeting out of curiosity to see what those queer Methodists were doing; and sometimes

“ . . . Fools who came to scoff remained to pray.”

There was usually a series of “testimonies” of personal experience, echoing the words of the blind man in Jerusalem, “One thing I know, that, whereas I was blind, now I see.” The meeting frequently, and in some places almost uniformly, closed with an invitation to the unconverted to rise for prayers. In our prayer meetings now we

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have an edifying exposition of a passage of Scripture. No invitation to the unconverted is given, for none of the unconverted are expected to be present. Our churches generally report at the end of the year a small net addition to their membership, but the addition to our church membership comes almost exclusively from our Sunday schools. Our own daughters, when they reach the age of fifteen or thereabout, generally join the church, and a much smaller proportion of our sons do the same. The churches gain very few additions excepting from the increase of the families of their members or adherents. A church which depends simply on the natural increase of its families for accessions to its membership is not rapidly conquering the world.

Is there no need of evangelism to-day? We do not, like our Methodist fathers a hundred years ago, think of the membership of other churches as a mission field from which we are to secure converts. We recognize to-day that the other churches are just as good as we are. But what are we doing for the unchurched multitudes of our population? A hundred years ago the population

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of New England was pretty nearly homogeneous. Not all the population, indeed, could claim to be lineal descendants of the remarkably prolific company that came over in the Mayflower; but even those who did not belong to that order of hereditary nobility were for the most part people of the same race, the same language, the same traditions. In our population to-day are hordes of immigrants from all countries of Europe, who have lost their faith in the national churches of their homelands, have acquired no interest in any churches in this country, and are living lives of practical heathenism. With the change in the character of the population, and, in some degree, as the cause of that change, has come a change in the form of industrial organization. Manufacture is no longer carried on for the most part in little shops where the proprietor and a few hired men worked together, all belonging substantially to the same class in society. Now we have immense impersonal aggregations of capital, and huge armies of working-men and working-women who have no social relations with their employers. These people, to a very

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large extent, look upon the church as belonging to the plutocracy which they regard as their oppressor. They feel, therefore, a hostility to the church which varies in intensity and malignity from cynical distrust to the brutal ferocity of the I. W. W. Our churches are surrounded by immense masses of a practically heathen population. What are we doing for those masses? By proxy we are doing some missionary work in China. What missionary work are we doing in Middletown?

We must have more of the true democracy of Christianity. We must recognize our brothers and sisters in Italians and Poles and Hungarians, in Jews and Chinamen. We must find some means of changing industrial strife to industrial cooperation. Our economists must find a more democratic—a more Christian—industrial organization. But that problem I will not now discuss.

We must try to get these heathen around us into our churches. When Bishop Thoburn returned to this country after an absence of a number of years in India, he said: "I am impressed by these two things in our congregations—the absence of very

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poor people, and the absence of bad people except sinners of higher social position. You must be willing to have a revival that will bring the bad people to the church."

One obvious barrier which tends to keep these people out of our churches is the system of raising money by selling or renting pews. In the mutual conversion of Methodism and Congregationalism in New England, Methodism has learned from its older sister a great many good things and some bad things, and the worst of the bad things which it has learned from Congregationalism is the private ownership of pews in churches. In the Methodist Church the system first became common in New England, where Methodism first became Congregationalized. The Methodist Discipline of 1820 gave the following direction in regard to the building of churches:

"Let all our churches be built plain and decent, and with free seats; but not more expensive than is absolutely unavoidable; otherwise the necessity of raising money will make rich men necessary to us. But if so, we must be dependent on them, yea, and governed by them. And then farewell to Methodist discipline, if not doctrine too."

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It is noteworthy that the phrase, "with free seats," was first inserted in 1820. The rest of the paragraph had been in the Discipline from the beginning of the existence of the Methodist Episcopal Church (except that in the earliest edition the buildings were called "chapels"). The specific direction that the seats should be free was added in 1820, not because the sentiment in favor of free seats first became dominant in the councils of the church at that time, but, rather, because the leaders of the church recognized the evil of the departure from the earlier practice which was already in progress. In the barns and barnlike churches of the older days the seats were free of course. The further progress of the new system of church finance was shown by the fact that in 1852 the General Conference felt itself bound to qualify the direction that the seats should be free by the insertion of the phrase, "wherever practicable." In the second edifice which was occupied by this church, built in 1828, not only were pews rented, but many of the pews were sold, so as to become permanently a part of the real estate of their occupants. In this building

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in which we worship to-day, never, thank God, have the pews been sold or even formally rented; though our system of assigning seats to people who make subscriptions for the support of the church is, after all, only a disguised form of pew rental. In an important sense a pew belongs to the man to whom it is assigned, whether he formally pays rent or not. I have very great sympathy with the pride of a working-man who will not obtrude himself as a perhaps unwelcome guest into a seat which belongs to somebody else, and who will not take a seat which no one has cared to preempt, and in which his presence would be a confession that he could not or would not pay for a seat. Never can we get the unchurched people to come into our churches until every vestige of private property in seats is banished from what we call the house of God, and the seats are as free as they were in the barns in which our fathers worshiped. Never can we get the unchurched people to come into our churches until we are willing to have sitting beside us the poorest, the dirtiest, the wickedest man or woman in the town.

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Another thing that we must do to make our services more attractive to people who are not church members is to make those services more varied. In general, the Sunday evening service is simply a dilution of the morning service. The sermon is usually a little shorter and a good deal weaker. We must make our services more varied. If people will not come to hear a long talk with a little music, it is worth while on the Sunday evenings to make the experiment of a short talk with a good deal of music. We have already got away from the respectable uniformity of our services sufficiently to introduce occasionally pictures projected by the lantern. I think we must be up to the times and bring in moving pictures. If we cannot get the people to come to our churches to hear the gospel, we must, like Wesley in the early days of Methodism, carry the gospel to the people where they are. So far as we can get permission to do so, we must preach the gospel in the parks, at the seaside resorts, in the shops.

But there are things which lie deeper than mere external methods and which are more important. If we are going to reach

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the unchurched masses, we must have a Christlike sympathy with sinners, with the lost. We must have a new evangelism—new not simply in the sense of being a revival of evangelism after an interval of time, but in the sense of being different in some degree in spirit and principle from the old evangelism. Christ said of himself that he “came to seek and to save that which was lost.” He came not to save those who were in danger of being lost at some time in the future, but those who were lost. John Wesley invited to join his societies people who desired to “flee from the wrath to come,” and a great deal of the evangelism of the past has been the expression of a desire to save people from hell. The spirit of the new evangelism must be a desire not to save people from a hell about which we know very little, but to save people from sin which is appallingly real.

For this new evangelism we need a deeper, more intense conviction of sin. The early converts to Methodism had a profound conviction of sin, and, when they found peace in believing, they felt, like the woman who bathed the feet of Jesus with her tears,

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that they were much forgiven, and they loved much. They could sing, with genuine feeling,

“Love I much? I’ve much forgiven;
I’m a miracle of grace.”

In the revivals of a century ago people who were awakened to a sense of sin often had an experience of almost despairing grief for days or weeks before they found peace, wondering whether sinners as bad as they felt that they were could be forgiven, imagining that they had committed the unpardonable sin and passed beyond the reach of hope. We read of these agonies to-day with a kind of contemptuous pity. There is no Slough of Despond in the path of the modern pilgrim, and no castle of Giant Despair near his route. Alas! in the flat monotony of our lives there are no Delectable Mountains and no Land of Beulah.

Our Methodist fathers a century ago were inclined to distrust the Christian character of any man who could not tell of a violent emotional experience of conviction and conversion—a blackness of darkness, and a light above the brightness of the sun. They had

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no sympathy with the conception of a child growing into a Christian life without any definite epoch of conversion. The children of the church were expected to wander into sin and to be reclaimed in some revival through the traditional emotional paroxysm. Not until 1856 did the Discipline recognize the baptized children of the church as probationary members. The pendulum has swung so far in the opposite direction that there is a tendency now to distrust the Christian character of any man who has not maintained perfectly respectable conduct through all his life.

Most of us in this generation joined the church in childhood. Thank God that we did. We cannot be too thankful for the providence of God that saved us from the curse of years of outbreaking immorality or years of arrogant and aggressive irreligion. But, in the nature of the case, those who commence a Christian life in childhood can have at the time no deep conviction of sin. They have never committed any outward acts which are very bad, and their moral sense is too immature to appreciate the profound spirituality of the ethical teach-

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ings of Jesus. For those who grow in moral thoughtfulness as they grow in years, whose consciences become more tender and sensitive, who day by day and year by year gain a deeper appreciation of the awful antithesis between sin and righteousness, a religious experience beginning in the innocence and thoughtlessness of childhood may ripen into the noblest type of Christian character which the world can know. But the weakness of the church lies in the fact that a large share of its membership consists of people who joined the church in childhood simply to please their parents, or because church membership was considered respectable; whose physical growth has been accompanied by little of intellectual and less of moral growth; who have remained in the church simply because they have committed no flagrant deed of immorality for which they could be expelled; but who have never acquired any sense of the heinousness of sin, and have never felt any aspiration for any goodness above the standard of social respectability.

We must feel that intense conviction of the exceeding sinfulness of sin which finds

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noble expression in those lines from Whittier's "Eternal Goodness":

"I bow my forehead to the dust,
I veil my eyes for shame,
And urge, in trembling self-distrust,
A prayer without a claim.
I see the wrong that round me lies,
I feel the guilt within;
I hear, with groan and travail-cries,
The world confess its sin."

With such intense conviction of sin and righteousness we shall feel, not alone our own sin, but the sin of others. Like the Master, we shall bear the sins of the world. In that spirit we shall find means to reach the masses around us. Whatever obstacles may lie in the path, they will give way to the force of intense conviction. We shall think of church membership, not as a policy of insurance protecting us against the chance of future loss, but, rather, as an enlistment for service. The church has often been thought of as an ark wherein a favored few are floating over the waves of a deluge in which the mass of humanity is hopelessly engulfed. If the church is to be symbolized by any kind of floating craft, it must be by

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a mighty battleship, in which there is no room for passengers and plenty of work for all the crew. Let us greet the new century in the spirit of a church that is truly militant.

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No birthday has ever been celebrated as has been the reputed birthday of Jesus of Nazareth. The supposed year of his birth is made by all civilized nations the starting point of their chronology. The date of every document is a memorial of his birth, whether it be the letter of love or friendship, the academic diploma, the memorandum which records a bargain between individuals, or the solemn treaty concluded between nations. What means the exceptional importance which the civilized world attaches to that one man? One thing at least is certain: the nineteen centuries which have passed away since the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, are marked as a period of history standing by itself, isolated broadly from everything that had gone before. These centuries have been marked by the development of a commonwealth of nations, and of a type of social and public life, radically distinct from any-

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thing developed in the civilization of antiquity. This commonwealth of nations we call Christendom. This new type of social and public life we call Christian civilization. Whatever views anyone may take in regard to the character and work of Jesus himself, or in regard to the supernatural claims of Christianity as a religion, Christendom and Christian civilization are unquestionable facts of history, and facts of history whose importance grows upon the mind the more they are studied.

But every student of history knows well that men's names sometimes come into a sort of accidental association with events in which they had comparatively little causal agency. Is it so with the relations between Christendom and Christian civilization, and Jesus Christ? Is it a mere accident that this commonwealth of nations, and this new type of social and public life, have developed themselves in the centuries that have elapsed since the birth of Jesus? We call George Washington the father of our country; and yet it is quite among the possibilities that our country might have been very much the same thing as it is now had George Wash-

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ington never lived. Greene was perhaps a greater general than Washington; Hamilton perhaps a greater statesman than Washington. Great and good as Washington was, and influential as he was for good in the history of our country, he was only one of many influences which conspired to make our country what it has been; and it is possible that the history of our country might not have been very different had that one great and good influence been subtracted. Is it so with the connection between Christ and Christendom? Is Christ Jesus only one of a multitude of influences that have developed the modern type of civilization, and would it have been about the same without that one influence?

This is a reasonable question for our consideration. That we may gain some light upon it, let us take a hasty glance at the condition of the world at the time of the birth of Christ. Let us consider what elements there were in the constitution of society at that time which were capable of developing into that new and higher civilization which has characterized these modern centuries. When we glance at the world at the time of

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Christ, our attention is at once arrested by those three great cities whose names are the symbols of all that is greatest and best in the traditions of ancient history—all that is most important in the never-to-be-forgotten legacy which the past has left to the present and to the future. We turn instinctively to Rome, Athens, and Jerusalem. What was there in each of these—what was there in all of these combined—that had in it the seeds of the new and higher civilization?

We turn first to Rome. It was in many respects a grand epoch in the history of that great city, and of the empire over which that city ruled. The chaos of factions had been subdued by the might of one strong hand. The iron doors of Janus were closed. Peace reigned from the Euphrates to the Pillars of Hercules—peace and order and law. The Eternal City was just undergoing its metamorphosis from brick to marble. Literature, which had been introduced from Greece, and which had been nursed as a tender exotic through the stormy times of war, had at last become thoroughly naturalized, and was bursting into brilliant bloom.

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Surely, there was much of hope for the world.

But look at the other side of the picture. It was an age of unbelief. The stately ceremonies of the old political religion of Rome were still punctiliously performed, but performed by men who had lost faith in the religion whose rites they celebrated. The mind of the age had drifted into atheism, or had been carried into captivity by all sorts of foreign superstitions. It was the time when, according to the sneer of Gibbon, the same man was a priest, an atheist, and a god. It was a time of utter hypocrisy. It was a time of shameless vice. The legend of Lucretia, with its glorification of womanly purity, belonged to a remote and well-nigh forgotten past. At this time the Roman matrons counted the years, not by the annual succession of consuls, but by the succession of husbands whom they had forsaken. Divorce was so easy that marriage was almost abolished. Those verses of the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans which are usually omitted when that chapter is read in social or public worship, represent, as every student of classic literature knows,

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the commonplace facts of Roman life. The nation wallowed in filth indescribable. And, if the legend of Lucretia belonged to a well-nigh forgotten age, to that same remote past belonged the story of Cincinnatus, with its glorification of honest labor. The system of slavery had perverted the industrial life of society. All work was done by slaves, and business had fallen into that partial paralysis which slavery brings. The unjust steward of our Saviour's parable could not dig, and to beg he was ashamed. The mass of the Roman people were ashamed to dig, but to beg they were not ashamed; and vast multitudes were supported by various forms of public and private mendicancy, and lived in idleness and uselessness and in the practice of every namable and nameless vice. The patriotism of the little republic of the Tiber had been a pretty savage sort of thing at its best. It is far more than a fact of Latin lexicography that the same word meant a stranger and an enemy. It reveals a dark side of the character of the Roman people. The conquests by which the little republic had grown into a world-wide empire, were pretty savage conquests. The faith which

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the Romans had kept with other nations was little, if at all, better than the Punic faith of which they complained in their enemies. Now that the little republic had expanded into a world-wide empire, patriotism had grown rather thin in stretching over so wide a territory. But, if patriotism had declined, there had been no decline in the savagery with which the ancient patriotism had been associated. With that world-wide empire there had come no recognition of universal brotherhood. True, indeed, a Roman audience might applaud when they heard on the boards of the theater, "I am a man, and nothing human can be alien to me"; but how far the Roman populace appreciated that lofty sentiment was well shown by the frantic eagerness with which they thronged to gaze upon the perilous sports of the circus and the brutal combats and massacres of the amphitheater. It was an age of unbelief and hypocrisy, saturated in vice, steeped in cruelty.

From Rome we turn to Athens, the center and soul of Greek mythology—Athens, the teacher of the beautiful to all future ages—Athens, where the statues of the gods,

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carved with almost superhuman genius from whitest marble, so thronged every street that it was easier to find a god than a man. What hope for the future was there at Athens? Alas! the fair humanities of Greek religion had become the corrupter of mankind. The imagination of the Greek poets had given to primitive nature myths a form more intensely anthropomorphic than they had elsewhere assumed. The gods of the popular mythology were not vague symbols of cosmic forces, but men and women of like passions with the people who had once been their worshipers. And in an age of unbelief reverence had given place to ridicule. It was about that time, according to the strange story related by Plutarch, that a sailor, becalmed among the Ionian Islands, heard a mysterious voice commanding him to proclaim, when he arrived at Palodes, that "Pan is dead." Whatever you may think of the queer story, it is very certain that Pan was dead—very dead; and not only Pan, but all his fellow divinities, great and little, from the high council of Olympus, down to the nymphs of forest and mountain, of river and ocean. Nothing was left but a mass of im-

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moral legends, whose power for evil was made only greater by the transcendent beauty of the language in which the foul stories were told.

But, if Greek religion had little in it that was hopeful, what shall we say of Greek philosophy? It had given to the world the glorious example of the life and death of Socrates—the inspiration of his faith in a life immortal. It had given to the world those writings of Plato, which approach, perhaps, more nearly than anything else of classic literature, the purity and spirituality of Christianity itself. But even the highest forms of Greek philosophy were unfitted to accomplish for the masses of mankind any purification of thought and elevation of life. In the teachings of Plato, the idea of God never altogether disengaged itself from pantheism, and virtue was regarded as the prerogative of an intellectual aristocracy. The most popular form of Greek philosophy was that of Epicurus, and the disciples of Epicurus had left far behind them the pure and gentle life of their master. Recognizing pleasure as the only good, they had plunged with utter abandon into every form of self-

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indulgence and vice. Their creed was that which was expressed by the elders whom Ezekiel saw in his vision, working all abominations in the chambers of their imagery—"The Lord seeth us not, the Lord hath forsaken the earth"; and their lives were worthy of their creed. What little virtue there was in the world at that time was chiefly to be found among the Stoics, and there is something grand in the stern resolution with which some of them stood out against the evil of their times. But it was a dark and hopeless struggle—a struggle brightened by no faith in a better future—a struggle doomed to inevitable defeat with no escape but suicide. Far and wide was unbelief, and the hopelessness that unbelief brings. The question of Pilate, "What is truth?" might have been heard on every side, and in every variety of tone from flippant indifference to heart-broken despair; and truth there was none—truth upon which the human soul could lean and find strength for life's struggles—truth which could brighten earthly darkness with heavenly light.

Turn we then to Jerusalem. There at least must be hope. There dwelt a people

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whose leader and lawgiver in the far-off past was believed to have stood face to face with Jehovah—a people who had learned somehow those truths, never altogether forgotten, of the unity and the holiness of God. They had indeed lapsed again and again into idolatry, and at last been carried into captivity; but a remnant had returned—a remnant, the flower of the nation. They had returned to the Land of Promise, never again to doubt the grand doctrine of the unity of God which was the corner-stone of their religion. Their religious enthusiasm had been fired by the glowing prophecies of the younger Isaiah. They had rebuilt the temple and reestablished its time-hallowed ritual, under the inspiration of the triumphant faith of Haggai and Zechariah. Their zeal for the ancient law had been strengthened by the stern puritanism of Ezra and Nehemiah. And now, on the summit of Moriah, sanctified by holiest memories of the past, had arisen the new temple of Herod, shining like a colossal gem in its snowy marble and dazzling gold. There, at least, there must be hope.

But one who entered the precincts of that

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temple would have found there the same rottenness of unbelief and hypocrisy that he would have found in Rome and Athens. There, too, were Sadducean priests perfunctorily performing the ritual that had come down from their fathers, with no faith in the religious meaning of the rites which they celebrated, no faith in the grand prophetic word of immortality. But, if there was no hope in that clique of Sadducees who held the high-priesthood and the high places of society, was there not some hope in the sect of the Pharisees? There, indeed, was reverence for the ancient law, but reverence in which there was more of superstition than of religion. They had planted hedge after hedge around the law, until its ethical meaning was lost in a jungle of petty details. They tithed mint and anise and cummin. They devoured widows' houses, and thanked God that they were not as other men.

True, the picture of those times was not altogether black, for everywhere there were gleams of brightness through the gloom. Amid all the foul corruption of Roman society there were hearts and homes and loves that were sweet and pure. Amid all the

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unbelief and vice of Epicureanism, there were men worthy of a better day, who stood out in grand, though hopeless, conflict with the evil of the times. Amid all the worldliness of the Sadducees and the formality of the Pharisees, there were Simeons waiting for the consolation of Israel; there were Nathanaels who were Israelites indeed in whom there was no guile. There were treasures which had come down from the past, and which the world could never forget. There were truths revealed, and truths discovered. There were the Pentateuch, and the prophecies of Isaiah, the Iliad, and the Dialogues of Plato. Much there was which might be made to form the material of a new and higher civilization; but there was need of something to vitalize—to render growthful—the elements of truth and beauty and goodness which were already in the world. As we gaze on the civilization of that age, we seem to stand with the prophet in the valley of his vision, where the bones were many and very dry, and spontaneously bursts from our lips the cry, "Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live."

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If that prayer of the ancient prophet had been breathed over the dead bones of the civilization of the Augustan age, it would not have been breathed in vain; for it was at this time that a Jewish peasant and his wife, going up to Bethlehem, were crowded out of the inn, and sought shelter in a stable, and there that peasant woman brought forth her first-born Son. Augustus on his throne knew not that that peasant Boy was to establish a world-wide empire. The philosophers of the Porch and the Garden knew not that that Galilæan Peasant was to utter words whose simple and majestic wisdom would echo through the ages, when their labored speculations would be forgotten. Sadducean priests, as with hypocritical punctiliousness they went through the performance of their ritual, knew not that that ritual would pass away like a shadow before the universal and spiritual religion which that Babe of Bethlehem was to proclaim.

The Babe of Bethlehem grew to be the Child and the Man of Nazareth. He lived in obscurity until thirty years of age, working at the carpenter's trade. Then he ap-

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peared as a moral and religious teacher. His theology was the fatherhood of God. His ethics was the brotherhood of man. He formulated nothing; he promulgated no system of philosophy; but he gave hints of glorious truth in which the world has recognized a grander philosophy than man had ever known. He talked, not with the hesitating utterance of sages who are groping after the truth, but with the certainty that belongs to the direct vision of God. Yet his chief influence lay not in what he said, but in what he was. In the utter blackness of this world of sin, he lived, the one white spot in human history, challenging even his bitterest foes to convict him of sin, and challenging them in vain. He uttered seemingly contradictory things about himself, and yet by the force of his mysterious personality they were blended into unity. "I am meek and lowly in heart," said he, and then—"He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." And the words which on any other lips would have been so grotesquely incongruous, when uttered by him formed a perfect unity, like the seamless robe that he wore. He died, and in his death he revealed the infinity

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of divine love to a sinning, suffering world. He declared that in his death he would draw all men unto him, and all subsequent history has been the fulfillment of that prophecy. He rose again, and from the dark abode of death he brought back life and immortality.

In Christ, then, was the new moral life which the world needed to convert the dry bones of a dead civilization into living forms of power and beauty. The fatherhood of God—the brotherhood of man—pardon revealed to a sinning race—the hope of immortality in a dying world—these were the elements from which was to come the new moral life to mankind.

The new influence made itself felt first at Jerusalem; and worldly-minded Sadducees learned the sublime ideal of the kingdom of heaven, and Pharisees performing in dull formality their religious rites were delivered from the bondage of the letter into the freedom of the spirit. The cumbrous ritual of sacrifice passed away like a shadow, when it was fulfilled in that one great example of self-sacrifice in which was the life of the world. The religion of the Jews, other and yet the same, became the religion of man-

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kind. The Jehovah of the Jews became the God and Father of all. The revelation which had been proclaimed by Moses and the Prophets, now glorified by the teaching and the life of Jesus, went forth conquering and to conquer.

The new influence went to Athens. It transformed the intellectual life of mankind. To Epicureans seeking life's highest good in gross and brutal self-indulgence, the new religion revealed its spiritual and ennobling joys. To Stoics struggling against inevitable ills, the new religion presented the sublime comfort of hope and faith in the unseen and the eternal.

Why is it, think you, that the philosophy of these modern centuries has been predominantly theistic, while that of the ages that preceded them was atheistic or pantheistic? It is not that God is revealed in nature any more clearly now than in the days of Plato. It is no easier now to "look through nature up to nature's God," than when Paul declared that "the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen." The influence that has transformed the world's thinking, and made it theistic in-

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stead of atheistic or pantheistic, is the influence which has come from the life and teachings of Jesus. The world to-day believes in God because it believes in Christ.

And the transformation has passed not only over the world's philosophy, but over its literature and art as well. True, indeed, writers of modern times have not all been saints, and not all of modern literature is very edifying reading; yet there is a vast contrast between the literature of to-day and that of ancient times. Much of modern literature is pervaded and glorified by a devotion to truth and goodness which has been inspired by the influence of Christ Jesus. You remember that impressive autobiographic passage in which Milton speaks of his desire "to leave something so writ as future ages shall not willingly let die," and of his conviction that the inspiration for such a work is to be sought, "not in the invocation of Dame Memory and her siren daughters, but in devout prayer to that Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and who sendeth forth his seraphim with fire from his altar to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleaseth."

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"What is true and just and honest,
What is lovely, what is pure,
All of praise that hath admonisht,
All of virtue,—shall endure;
These are themes for poets' uses,
Stirring nobler than the Muses.

"O brave poets, keep back nothing,
Nor mix falsehood with the whole!
Look up Godward; speak the truth in
Worthy song from earnest soul!
Hold, in high poetic duty,
Truest Truth the fairest Beauty."

So sang Mrs. Browning, and in that spirit many a poet has sung, many a worker in literature and art has wrought, until the world is glorified with the supreme beauty of truth and goodness.

The new influence went to Rome. It transformed the social and political life of man. The great truths of the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the infinite dignity and worth of the human soul, could not make themselves felt without transforming all social and political life. That truth of the dignity of the human soul, apart from every incident and accident of human life, brought with it of necessity the emancipation of woman. It gave her what she had

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never had before, save in exceptional instances and under peculiar conditions—the opportunity of being at once free and pure. Those truths of the dignity of the human soul and the brotherhood of man soon led to the abolition of the bloody sports of the arena, and in due time brought about the abolition of slavery. They gave mankind a new conception of the relation of the individual to the state. No longer could it be supposed that the individual was to live only for the state. It came to be recognized that the state fulfilled its office, that the institutions of government served their purpose, only in so far as they contributed to the highest and noblest development of individual human souls. The conception of brotherhood, expanding beyond the pale of nationality into the idea of universal brotherhood, gradually transformed the international life of man, and developed the idea of the commonwealth of nations. And now, out of the horror of these years of world war, is coming, we trust, the sudden fulfillment of the growing hope of the ages in the establishment of a League of Nations.

“The century’s aloe flowers to-day.”

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The religion which has accomplished all these changes in the past is not exhausted. The power that conquered Rome, Athens, and Jerusalem, is vital with the pulses of eternal youth. It is still going forth conquering and to conquer. What achievements await it in the future, only that Omniscience in which it had its birth can tell. Even now it is inspiring missionary activity on a scale unparalleled in the past for the enlightenment of lands darkened by paganism and barbarism, and revealing more fully its power to cope with evils which still exist in lands of civilization and nominal Christianity. The prejudices of race, the jealousy between rich and poor, the antagonism of capital and labor—all human problems and all human miseries—must find their solution and belief in the religion of Jesus Christ.

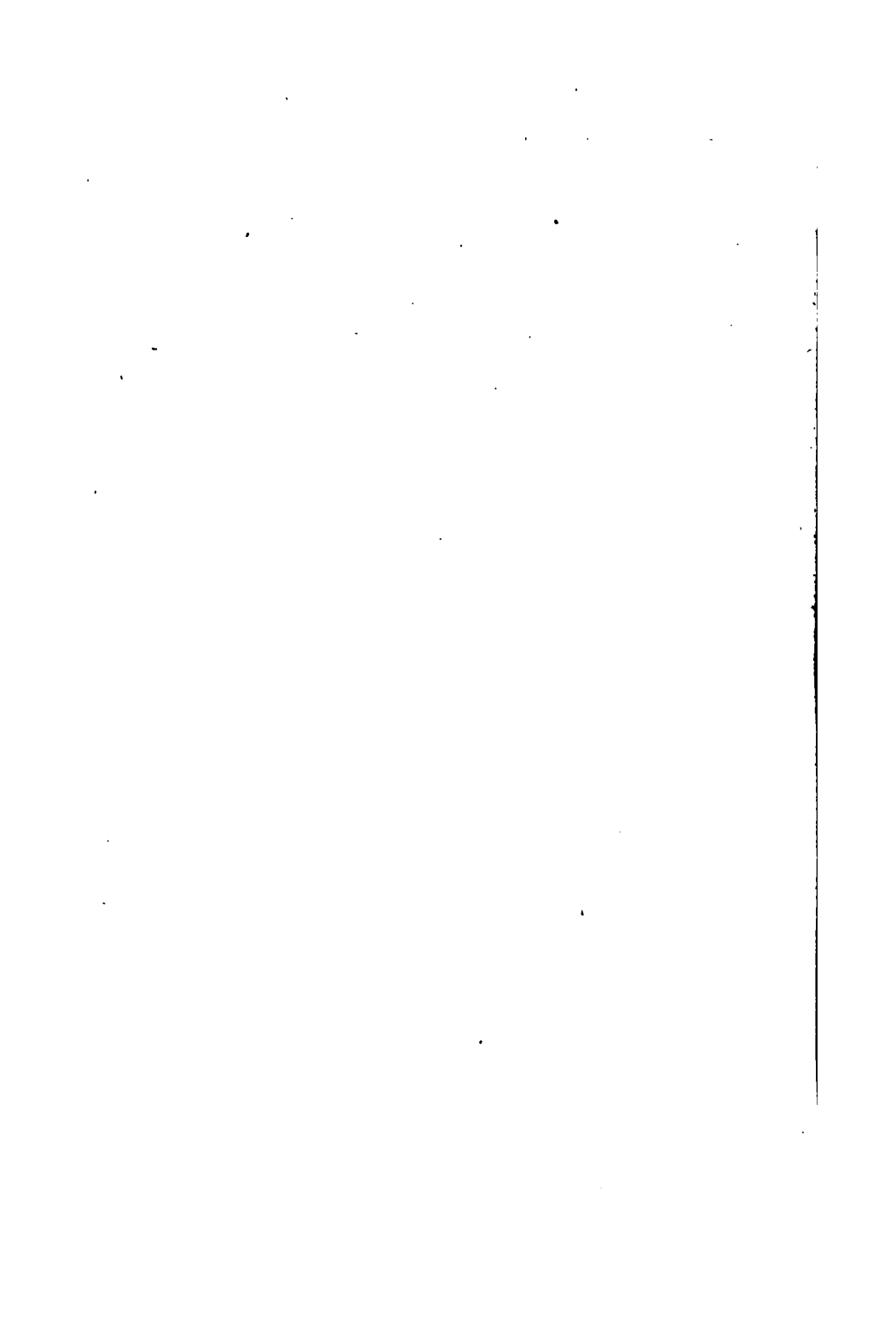
The new influence which created Christendom and Christian civilization, made itself felt first at Jerusalem, and afterward at Athens and Rome; and therein lies a parable. Therein lies an intimation of the truth that this influence is primarily a religious influence, that the source of all that is char-

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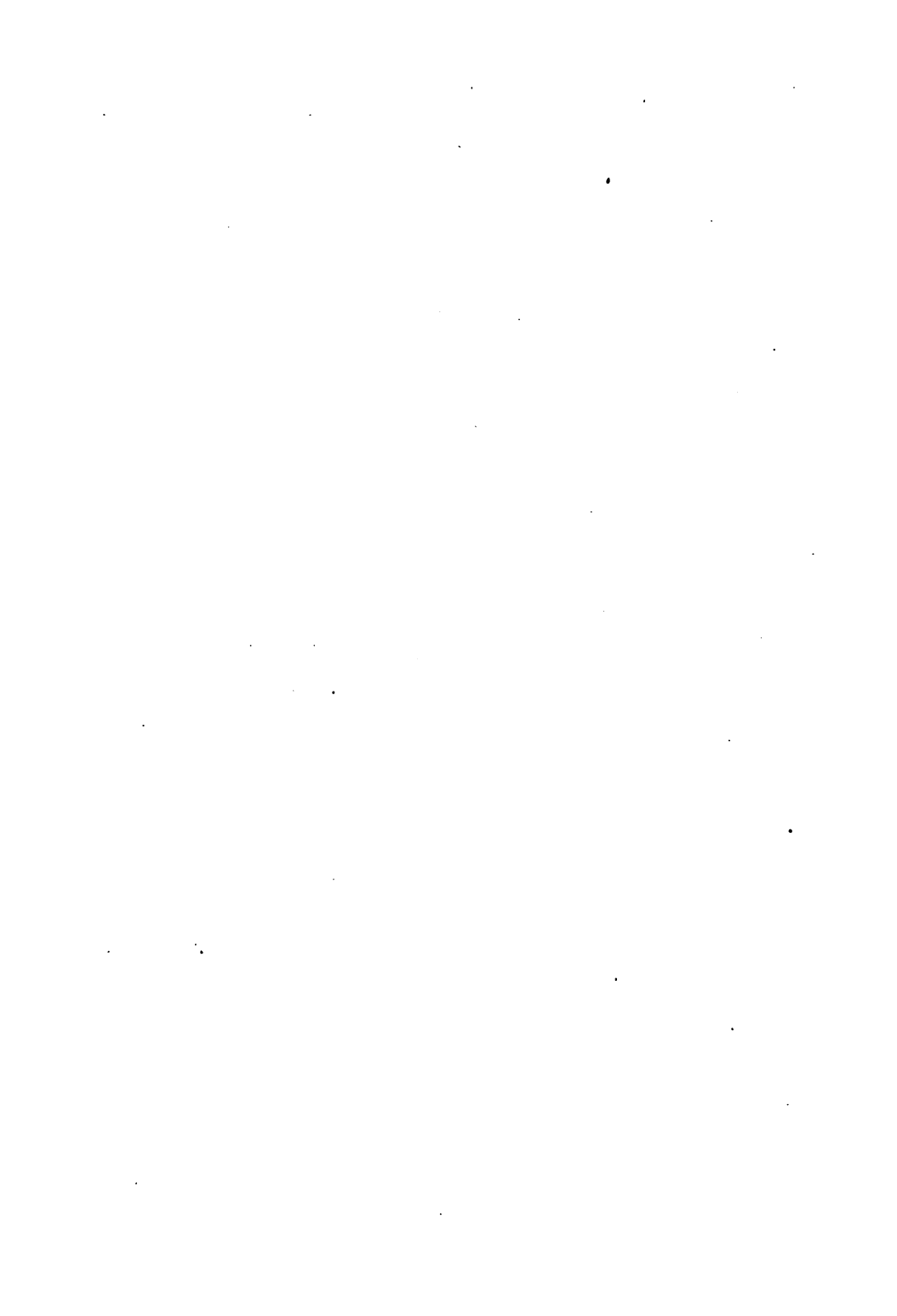
acteristic of this modern civilization is in a religious life—in the turning of individual souls from sin to righteousness. The new philosophy, the new literature, the new social and political organization, are secondary effects whose real origin is in the influence exerted on human character. In this thought we may find inspiration for individual duty. To accomplish great works of genius which make themselves felt in philosophy or literature or social and political organization, falls to the lot of only a few. It falls not to our lot to write a "Principia" or a "Paradise Lost," to break the fetters of a subject race, or to give to a nation a new political constitution. These are achievements for which neither ability nor opportunity has been given to us. But it is the privilege of every one of us to bear his share in that moral and religious activity from which is derived every other form of new and better life which constitutes our modern civilization. In the parable of the Master, the kingdom of heaven is likened to leaven hid in three measures of meal, whose influence spreads from particle to particle until the whole is leavened. In that process of the

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moral transformation of humanity every one of us may have his share. Each may catch from some other soul that has been transformed by the beneficent influence of Christianity its high moral ideals, its lofty inspiration; and each in turn may communicate that transforming power to others. And with this thought of privilege and opportunity comes the solemn thought of responsibility. In the eternal conflict between good and evil—in the progress of the new and higher civilization, ever resisted by the powers of evil incarnated in evil life and evil institutions—there is no neutrality. The words of the Master are as true as when uttered eighteen centuries ago, “He that is not with me is against me”; and still those solemn words, like an anticipation of the final Judgment, part mankind on the right and on the left, “as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats.” In that parting, in comparison with which all earthly differences are trivial and accidental, may we each and all be found on the right side.



1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.



**This book is under no circumstances to be
taken from the Building**

Form 410



